At the time of the Revolution, Wenham, Massachusetts had a population of about 700. Two hundred twenty-two men and boys fought on behalf of the town. Most were residents of Wenham but some were residents of neighboring towns. *Wenham in the Revolution* tells the story of how our town responded to the events of the period. It is a companion to *Wenham Soldiers & Sailors in the Revolution*, which provides genealogical identification and service records of Wenham's servicemen.

Robert Corcoran is author of *Enslaved People & Wenham*, *Indigenous People & Wenham* and *History of the Thomas Kilham House*. He is clerk and co-historian at First Church in Wenham (Congregational) and a former vice-chair of the Wenham Historic District Commission. His West Wenham house was the residence of Revolutionary War veteran Capt. Matthew Fairfield (1745-1813).

Wenham in the Revolution

ROBERT O. CORCORAN

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Wenham in the Revolution

Surrender of Gen. Burgoyne at the Second Battle of Saratoga, 1777

The Continental Army's victory at Second Saratoga was a turning point in the war. Wenham men fought in the battle and then marched British and Hessian prisoners of war to the Boston area, where they guarded the prisoners at Winter Hill, Somerville.

Wenham in the Revolution

By
Robert O. Corcoran

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On the cover:
Robert Aitken, *A Correct View of the Late Battle at Charlestown June 17, 1775*. Philadelphia: 1775. One of the few contemporary views of the Battle of Bunker Hill drawn by an American.

Frontispiece:
John Trumbull, 1821. United States Capitol Rotunda.

Barnes & Noble Press
New York

In Loving Gratitude for Rick

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PREFACE

FROM the perspective of a historian, it is remarkable what *hasn't* been documented about Wenham's experience during the Revolutionary War —until now.

Histories the town written in 1860 and 1943 provide substantial content on the topic. Yet both left out such morsels as

… Wenham had soldiers as young as 10 years old (and maybe younger)

… Wenham had soldiers at the Crossing of the Delaware

… Wenham had soldiers at Valley Forge, and

… Wenham had soldiers in a range of major battles in New England, the Mid-Atlantic and Canada.

Wenham in the Revolution tells the story of how our town responded to the events of the mid-1770s through the 1780s. It is a companion to *Wenham Soldiers & Sailors in the Revolution*, which provides genealogical identification and service records for each of the 222 men and boys who fought on behalf of Wenham, on land and on sea.

I am very grateful to the individuals and institutions that have helped shape this work and its companion *Wenham Soldiers & Sailors in the Revolution*. Tom Jones, Lauren Jones and Natalie Streeter welcomed me into their homes—former residences of Wenham Revolutionary War veterans—as I conducted my field research. Roy and Nate Christoph shared their metal detecting finds. Jane Bowers and Samantha Grantham were extremely helpful as I navigated the collection of the Wenham Museum. To all: *Thank you*!

R.O.C.

Tension

SARAH Fairfield (1733–1814) had a feisty streak to her. It was 1773, and a group of British soldiers were marching northward from Beverly. Sarah was living on Main Street. Someone spotted the soldiers as they approached the cemetery. "The others present proposed to flee. 'Not a step,' cried Mrs. Fairfield, 'give me a spit, and I'll pepper one of the villains.' Armed with this rude weapon, she stood her ground manfully, but the soldiers passed on their way without turning aside to molest her."[1]

Sarah was ready to fight. And she wasn't alone.

Matters had been brewing since the mid-1760s when the British imposed a series of new taxes on the colonists. The taxes provoked rioting in Boston; in 1768 news arrived that British troops would be landing in Boston to suppress the rioting. Faced with the prospect of the arrival of hostile troops, 96 Massachusetts towns sent delegates to a convention at Faneuil Hall in September 1768 to discuss their options. Sarah's father-in-law Benjamin Fairfield (1708–1788)—the town's equivalent of an elder statesman, a man who had been a selectmen and moderator of town meeting—was chosen to represent Wenham at the convention.[2] The Massachusetts Convention of Towns didn't actually accomplish much, but it demonstrated that tension with the British had built to the point where the colonists' grievances (and potential responses) were discussed and coordinated at the regional level.

Wenham, like other towns in Massachusetts and elsewhere, formed a Committee of Correspondence to help coordinate resistance. Wenham formed its five-man committee in May 1773,[3] but not without some pushback. During the town meeting when the committee was appointed, Nathaniel Brown Jr. (ca.1705–1778) argued against the idea of forming a committee, saying that Parliament hadn't infringed on the colonists' rights; that Boston's problems were *Boston's* problems, not Wenham's; and that Brown would be glad if

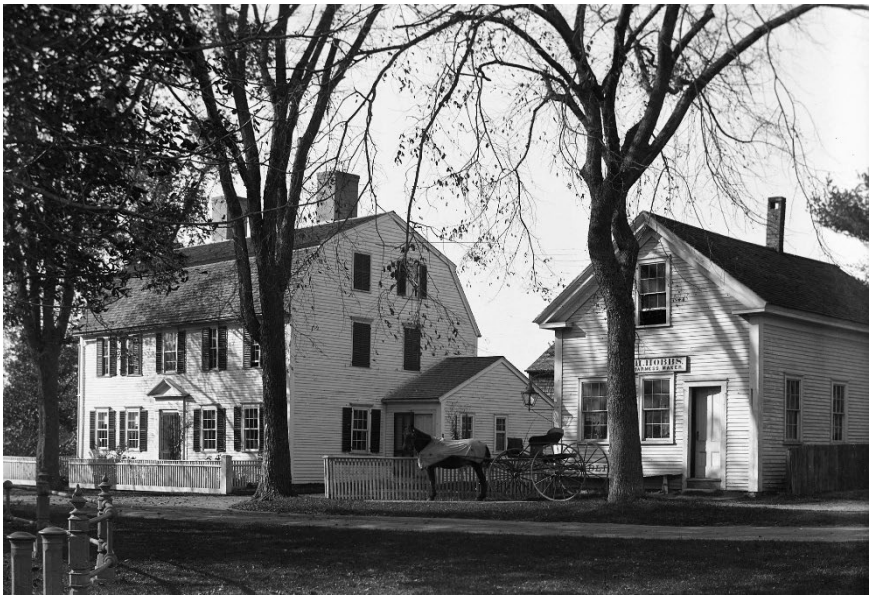
The Porter-Fairfield House at 79 Main Street, photographed in 1893, residence of Sarah Fairfield (1733–1814). Sarah's husband Dr. William Fairfield (1732–1773) died of smallpox in 1773. Their son Benjamin Fairfield (1762–1781) was a seaman on a privateer during the war.[4]

Boston were "laid in ashes."[5] Brown, who was one of the town's richer residents and perhaps its only Tory—and would later regret his words.

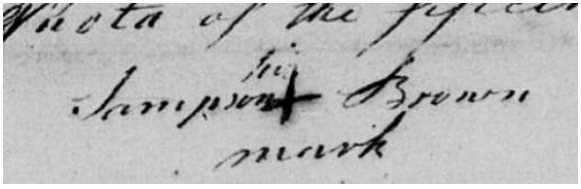
Sometimes the difference between "patriots" and "mob" depends on who's telling the story. September 27, 1774 was a Tuesday. Twenty-one men from Wenham and neighboring towns convened at the inn run by Dr. Tyler Porter (1735–1811) in his house on Main Street (on a site that would later be 1 Monument Street). Porter's inn was next door to Nathaniel Brown Jr.'s house (the Hobbs House at 135 Main Street) and adjacent to the Meeting House (on Monument Square in front of and perpendicular to today's Congregational Church). Fortified with rum or ale, the twenty-one men went to Brown's house to confront him on his politics, citing the comments he made during the May 1773 town meeting among his offenses. A newspaper account written by one of the twenty-one says that an "altercation" ensued. But this was a euphemism. The mob almost tarred and feathered Brown. In a tarring-and-feathering the victim is stripped to the waist if not stripped naked, smeared with tar, doused with feathers, and paraded around the public square for ridicule. Brown somehow talked his way out of it and was given an hour to think things over. Once the hour had passed—during which the mob probably got drunker—Brown acquiesced, basically telling them that they were right. Brown published a "confession" in the local newspaper the next week. (The newspaper account and confession shine a light on the use of propaganda during the period. See Appendix C for a transcription.)[6]

By 1773 just the sight of British troops meant trouble. By 1774 Tories were getting tarred and feathered. Wenham and other towns were using committees of correspondence and conventions to coordinate their response to current events.

The incident at the Hobbs House wasn't the only sign that tension was escalating during the latter half of 1774. In August the selectmen saw the need to assess the town's supply of ammunition (gun powder, bullets and flints), which was hidden out of sight beneath the pulpit of the Meeting House.[7] In September a convention of representatives from Essex County towns (similar to the Massachusetts Convention of Towns of 1768) met at Ipswich to address the growing crisis. Benjamin Fairfield, Jacob Dodge (1716–1792) and Dr. Tyler Porter represented Wenham. In October Fairfield represented Wenham at the First Provincial Congress, held at Salem. In December, the town voted to send Fairfield to the Second Provincial Congress,



The Henry Hobbs House, photographed in 1893.[8] The Hobbs House was home to Nathaniel Brown Jr. (ca. 1705–1778), a Tory who was almost tarred-and-feathered for his pro-British politics.



Signature of Sampson Brown, 1779.[9] The Hobbs House was also home to Sampson Brown (d. after 1792), an enslaved man who ran away from his enslaver Nathaniel Brown Jr. in order to fight the British. Nobody taught Sampson how to sign his name with words; he had to sign his name with a mark. This is the oldest signature found so far of a member of Wenham's enslaved community.

to be held at Cambridge the following February. The town also voted to send funds to assist the residents of Boston, and to select fifteen minute men.[10]

The militia was a part-time army with a focus on local defense. Membership was compulsory. Each town was expected to have at least one company of militiamen. Wenham's militia practiced drills on a training field that was on the current-day site of Town Hall.[11] Minute men were a subset of the militia who received extra training and were expected to mobilize more quickly, "at a minute's notice." Wenham's minute men were paid eight shillings per month but were penalized ten pounds (a whopping 25 times the amount of one month's pay) if they did not provide their own equipment or if they missed training.

Wenham had fifteen minute men:
- Ebenezer Batchelder 3rd (1750–1849)
- Israel Batchelder (1753–1777)
- Abraham Brown (b. 1750)
- Israel Andrews Dodge (1749–1823)
- George Dwinell (bp. 1730?)
- John Friend 3rd (1739–1793)
- Nathaniel Gott (1755–1828)
- Ebenezer Kimball (1740–1821)
- Amos Knowlton (1746–1778)
- Josiah Ober Jr. (1747–1820)
- Nathaniel Ober (1743–1778)
- Samuel Ober (1753–1833)
- Asa Porter (1741–1805)
- Francis Porter (1748–1815)
- Isaac Porter (1750–1837)

The latter half of 1774—a period of (attempted) tarring-and-feathering, political conventions, province-level congresses, stockpiling of ammunition and selection of a rapid-response military force—was also a period of escalating military action. In September British troops seized the colonists' gunpowder in Somerville. In December colonists seized the British-held gunpowder and cannons in Portsmouth.[12]

One Sunday morning in February 1775, when most people were at church, British troops sailed from Castle Island in Boston Harbor to Marblehead and then marched into Salem to seize the colonists' ammunition. Militia mobilized from Salem, Beverly and Danvers. A daylong face-off ensued, without shooting, and the British troops withdrew.[13] No record has been found indicating that Wenham's militia mobilized, but they might have. According to a Portsmouth newspaper:

> Various reports were spread abroad respecting the [British] troops; the country was alarmed; and one company [of militia] arrived in arms from Danvers just as the troops left the town. [Salem residents] immediately dispatched messengers to the neighboring towns to

save them the trouble of coming in; but the alarm flew like lightning (and fame doubtless magnified the first simple reports) so that great numbers were in arms, and some on the march, before [the] messengers arrived.[14]

Response from Wenham's Committee of Correspondence to Boston's Committee of Correspondence, Reviewed and Approved at the June 30, 1773 Wenham Town Meeting[15]

We the subscribers being a committee appointed to take under consideration the Boston letters from the Committee of Correspondence of said town wherein are inserted certain grievances, having maturely considered the same, are of [the] opinion that the right[s] of the colonist[s] of this in particular are infringed upon in many instances and therefore is a great grievance to all his majesty's loyal subjects and has a direct tendency to the destruction of our happy constitution.

We shall not descend into particulars, they being so often enumerated before, but only mention some of the most obvious (viz): The giving up [of] our chief fortress [Castle Island] into the hands of his majesty's troops over whom our governor sayeth he has no power or command, and secondly the appointing salaries to our chief justices at home and that we are denied the privilege of choosing an agent at home and thereby rendered unable to petition his majesty but by way of the governor (who perhaps is the very man we want to petition against)[. W]e are far from being easy under the present administration of government and situation of our civil rights and privileges and ardently wish they may be redressed speedily; having no representatives to give instructions to, we shall always be ready to join with the town of Boston and others in all constitutional methods to preserve our civil and religious privileges inviolate, and may that Almighty Being who governs all things in infinite mercy preside in all our councils and direct to such measures as He himself shall approve of, and may we ever be a people favored of Heaven and may this became Emmanuel's land.

1 Allen (1860), 74, edited. See also Perley (1888), 2:1239. A "spit" was tool used to cook meat in a fireplace.

Encountering the British didn't *always* lead to trouble. Sometimes the British went out of their way to demonstrate positive community relations. British Gen. Thomas Gage, governor of the Massachusetts Bay province, moved the seat of government from Boston to Salem in 1774, taking up residence in Danvers. Tapley (1923), 63-65. John "Pond John" Dodge 3rd (1770–1849), who lived in the Capt. John Dodge (1636–1723) House formerly near 26-34 Main Street,

> used to recall the pleasure barge on Wenham Lake of Gen. Gage, whose headquarters were in Danvers; and he well remembered "sitting on Gen. Gage's knee, and sharing in sweetmeats, given by Gen. Gage to the children, and listening to the stories he used to tell them," a striking instance of the consistent efforts of this officer (Gen. Gage was then acting governor of the Province) to make himself as little obnoxious as possible to these wayward colonists.

Cole (1943), 68.

2 Wenham Historical Society (1940), 231.

3 Wenham Historical Society (1940), 271-273. Members were Benjamin Fairfield (1708–1788), John Friend Jr. (1718–1785), Daniel Kilham 5th (1727–1789) and Dr. Tyler Porter (1735–1811).

At the July 5, 1774 town meeting the Committee of Correspondence was reconfigured with Billy Porter (1739–1813), John Friend Jr., Stephen Dodge (1736–1816), William Cleaves (1720–1781) and Dr. Tyler Porter.

4 79 Main Street. Photographed October 21, 1893 by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, BHC816.

We don't know whether Dr. Fairfield died before or after Sarah's encounter with British troops. Benjamin Fairfield (1762–1781) should not be confused with his grandfather Benjamin Fairfield (1708–1788).

5 *The Essex Gazette*, October 11, 1774, 3. See Appendix C.

6 *The Essex Gazette*, October 11, 1774, 3. Cole (1943), 68. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 42. Corcoran (2024), 253-255.

7 Allen (1860), 73-74. Wenham Historical Society (1940), 277.

For annual inspections of the town's supply of ammunition in 1776, 1777, 1782 and 1783 see Wenham Historical Society (1959), 5, 11, 54.

8 135 Main Street. October 17, 1893 photograph by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, BHC805. The building at right was a harness shop.

9 Brown et al., MS (1779).

10 Lincoln (1838), 78, 615. Wenham Historical Society (1940), 278-280, 282-283.

Wenham's committee that selected the minute men consisted of Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802), Billy Porter and Matthew Fairfield (1745–1813), each of whom would later be captains (or major, in Porter's case) of companies of soldiers who fought in the war.

11 Wenham Historical Society (1930), 53. Cole (1943), 32.

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12 Massachusetts Powder Alarm, September 1, 1774. Capture of Fort William and Mary, Portsmouth, December 14, 1774.

13 Salem Gunpowder Raid a/k/a Leslie's Retreat, February 26, 1775.

14 *The New-Hampshire Gazette and Historical Chronicle*, March 3, 1775, 1, edited.

15 Wenham Historical Society (1940), 272.

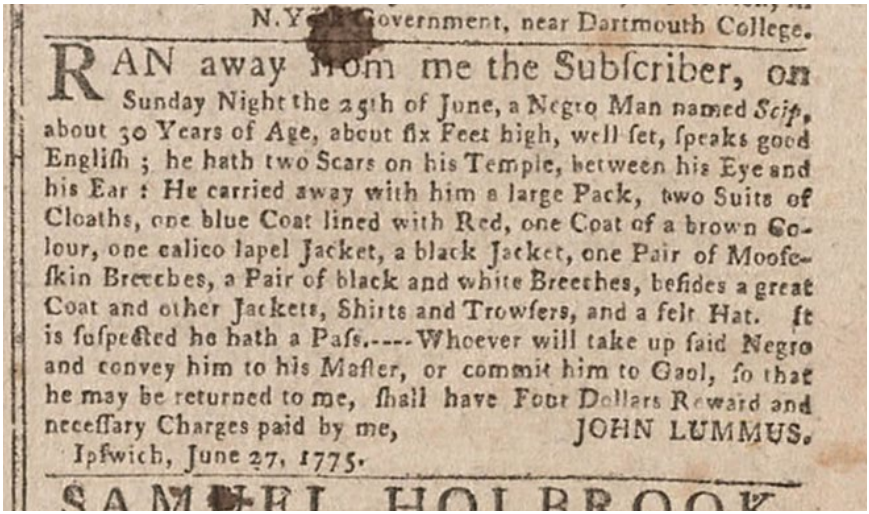
WAR

OVER the course of the war 222 men and boys served on behalf of Wenham. Their names appear in Appendix A. Most were residents of Wenham, but 24 were residents of other towns and 49 didn't leave enough of a paper trail for us to know whether they lived in Wenham or elsewhere. (Maps showing the locations of Wenham-resident servicemen's homes appear in Appendix B.) It might come as a surprise to some that Wenham had servicemen who lived outside of Wenham. But towns paid bounties in order to fill their quota of soldiers, and many prospective soldiers shopped around for a bounty.[16]

The majority of Wenham's servicemen fought on land. A handful fought on sea, and a few fought on both land and sea. Wenham had servicemen who fought in each stage of the war, some of whom fighting as late as the war's conclusion in 1783. Wenham servicemen fought in some of the most important battles of the war, responding to the shifts in geographic focus as the fighting moved from Boston to Quebec to New York and to Philadelphia. Most of their collective *battle* service occurred during 1775–1779, before the focus of the war shifted to the South.

1775

- *Lexington Alarm (April 19, 1775)*. Fifty-seven Wenham-resident soldiers mobilized during the Lexington Alarm. Contrary to what some may think, the Lexington Alarm was *not* a mad dash by minute men to Lexington and Concord. It was, rather, a coordinated and preplanned mobilization of militia units (units that included minute men) during which companies of militia marched to predetermined points of strategic importance. Although no documentation has been found telling us where



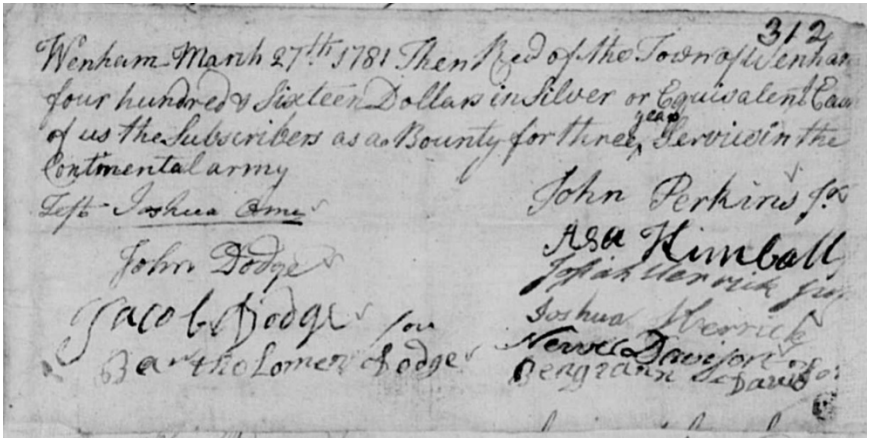
N.Y[illegible] Government, near Dartmouth College.

RAN away from me the Subſcriber, on Sunday Night the 25th of June, a Negro Man named *Scip*, about 30 Years of Age, about ſix Feet high, well ſet, ſpeaks good Engliſh; he hath two Scars on his Temple, between his Eye and his Ear: He carried away with him a large Pack, two Suits of Cloaths, one blue Coat lined with Red, one Coat of a brown Colour, one calico lapel Jacket, a black Jacket, one Pair of Mooſeſkin Breeches, a Pair of black and white Breeches, beſides a great Coat and other Jackets, Shirts and Trowſers, and a felt Hat. It is ſuſpected he hath a Paſs.----Whoever will take up ſaid Negro and convey him to his Maſter, or commit him to Gaol, ſo that he may be returned to me, ſhall have Four Dollars Reward and neceſſary Charges paid by me, JOHN LUMMUS.

Ipſwich, June 27, 1775.

SAMUEL HOLBROOK

Advertisement by John Lummus of Hamilton, seeking the run-away enslaved man Scipio Lummus, 1775.[17] Scipio was found encamped at Prospect Hill, Somerville during the Siege of Boston. His enslaver then exchanged him for a different enslaved man who was part of a Wenham enslaver's household, and Scipio was sent to live in Wenham where he was assigned the name "Scipio Porter."



312

Wenham March 27th 1781 Then Rec'd of the Town of Wenham four hundred & Sixteen Dollars in Silver or Equivalent Cash of us the Subscribers as a Bounty for three years Service in the Continental army

Left- Joshua Ames

John Dodge

Jacob Dodge for Barth. Lomer Dodge

John Perkins Jr.

Asa Kimball

Joshua Herrick

Nevell Dow for Benjamin Dow

Receipt for bounties paid by the town of Wenham to nine Wenham soldiers, for enlisting for a term of three years, 1781.[18]

Wenham's two militia companies went, it is likely that they marched to Medford to monitor traffic on the Mystic River. Wenham's militia was part of the 3rd Essex County Regiment and documentation *does* survive showing that an Ipswich-based company and a Hamilton-based company that were also part of the 3rd Essex County Regiment marched to Medford.[19]

- *Siege of Boston (April 1775–March 1776).* In the wake of the Battles of Lexington and Concord, units of Massachusetts militia surrounded Boston in order to cut off British troops' land access to the city. The siege lasted until March 17, 1776, when the British evacuated by sea. Over 50 soldiers who were fighting on behalf of Wenham were part of the siege, most of whom were encamped at Chelsea and Somerville. (There were probably more, because we know that several Wenham residents served in 1775 and 1776, the details of whose service records have been lost.)

The war came as close to Wenham as Gloucester. The Battle of Gloucester was a skirmish on August 8, 1775 during which the British Navy's *HMS Falcon* captured one schooner and grounded a second that were returning to Gloucester from the West Indies. Members of Gloucester's militia captured British seaman and recovered the schooner that the British had caught.

- *Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775).* At least twenty soldiers who fought on behalf of Wenham were at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Wenham resident Dr. Isaac Spafford (1752–1786) treated soldiers with injuries sustained during the battle. Capt. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802) led a company of soldiers who fought in the battle. Capt. Richard brought along with him Scipio Dodge a/k/a Scipio Lee (b? d?), an enslaved man in Dodge's household. He also brought along his eleven year-old son John Thorne Dodge (1764–1851) and thirteen year-old nephew John Dodge Jr. (1761–1834).

1776

- *Battle of Trois-Rivières (June 8, 1776)* and *Battle of Valcour Island (October 11, 1776).* The Continental Army invaded Quebec in 1775 with the objective of persuading the French-speaking Canadians to join the war as allies. But the British pushed the colonists' army out of Canada, the Battle of

Continued on p. 16

Map of the fortifications surrounding Boston, drawn in 1776.[20] Before the Back Bay was filled in, Boston was a peninsula that was accessible by land via an isthmus at Roxbury. This isthmus was easy to defend, which allowed the colonial army to keep British soldiers contained in the city during the Siege of Boston. In 1777, in the wake of the colonists' victory at Saratoga, British and Hessian prisoners of war were kept at Winter Hill and Prospect Hill in Somerville (arrows, upper left). Wenham soldiers guarded the prisoners at Winter Hill.

Engraving of the Battle of Bunker Hill and the burning of Charlestown, drawn ca.1781–1783.[21]

Engraving of the First Battle of Saratoga, drawn ca. 1777.[22]

John Thorne Dodge (1764–1851).[23] John's father, Capt. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802), led a company of soldiers that was encamped at Chelsea during the Siege of Boston and fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill. John served as a waiter his father and—*at the age of 11*—was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Edmund Kimball (1762–1847).[24] Kimball served in 1779 and 1780, and was encamped at West Point, New York and Totowa, New Jersey.

Trois-Rivières being the last battle fought in Quebec. Wenham soldiers fought in this battle as well as the Battle of Valcour Island (a naval battle fought on Lake Champlain) following the Continental Army's retreat from Canada.

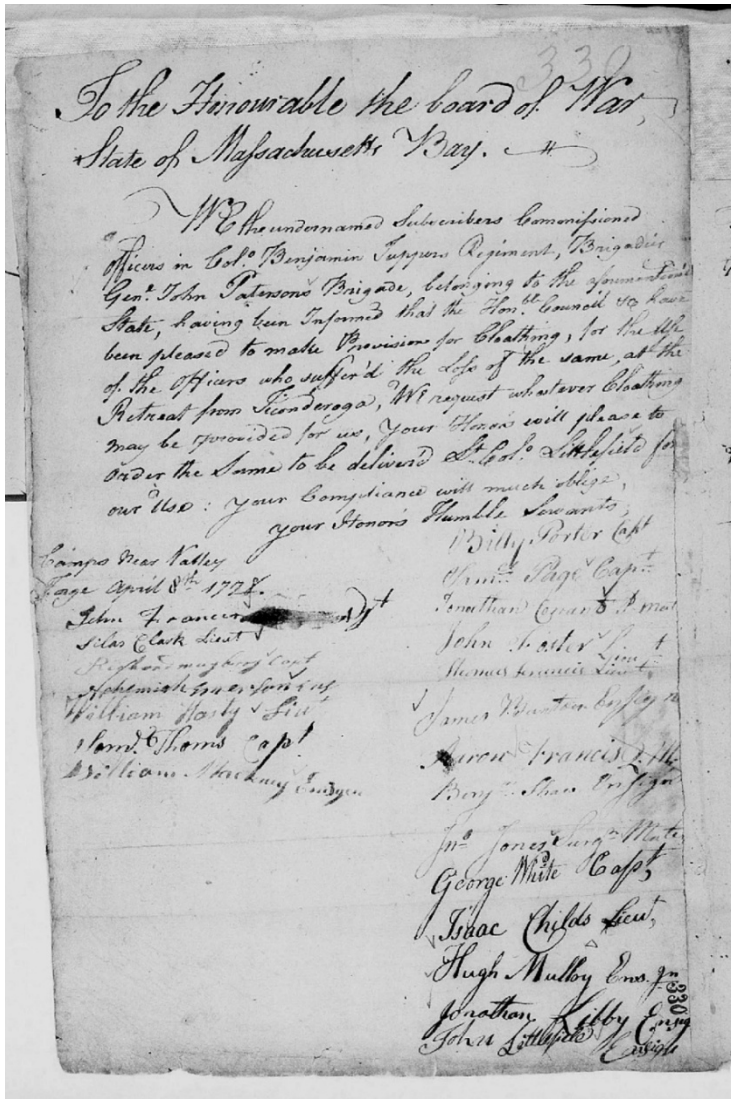
- *New York Campaign (July 1776–November 1776).* After the British withdrawal from Boston and the colonists' defeat in Quebec, the focus of the war turned to New York City. Wenham troops fought in the Battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776, also known as the Battle of Brooklyn), the Battle of Harlem Heights (September 16, 1776), the Battle of Throgs Neck (October 12, 1776), the Battle of Pell's Point (October 18, 1776, also known as the Battle of Pelham) and the Battle of White Plains (October 28, 1776).
- *Crossing of the Delaware (December 25-26, 1776).* Wenham troops participated in the Crossing of the Delaware and fought in the Battle of Trenton on the next day (December 26, 1776).

1777

- *Saratoga Campaign (June 14, 1777–October 17, 1777).* The British tried to secure control of the Hudson River so as to cut off New England from the other colonies. Wenham troops fought in the Battle of Hubbardton (July 7, 1777), the First Battle of Saratoga (September 19, 1777) and the Second Battle of Saratoga (October 7, 1777). Second Saratoga ended with the surrender of British Gen. John Burgoyne, which proved to be a turning point in the war to the benefit of the colonists. British and Hessian prisoners of war[25] were marched from Saratoga to the Boston area. Wenham militia men did duty guarding the prisoners of war who were kept at Winter Hill, Somerville.
- *Valley Forge (Winter of 1777–1778).* Capt. Billy Porter (1739–1813) led a company of soldiers that, as well as other companies that included Wenham troops, spent the winter of 1777–1778 encamped at Valley Forge. Porter wrote a letter from Valley Forge in April 1778 that survives.

1778

- *Battle of Monmouth (June 28, 1778).* Capt. Billy Porter's Company fought in the Battle of Monmouth, the last battle of the Philadelphia Campaign of 1777–1778.



To the Honorable the board of War,
State of Massachusetts Bay.

We the undernamed Subscribers Commissioned
Officers in Col.o Benjamin Tupper's Regiment, Brigadier
Gen.l John Patterson's Brigade, belonging to the aforementioned
State, having been Informed that the Hon.ble Council & House
have been pleased to make Provision for Cloathing, for the Relief
of the Officers who suffer'd the Loss of the same, at the
Retreat from Ticonderoga, We request whatever Cloathing
may be provided for us, Your Honors will please to
Order the Same to be delivered Col.o Littlefield for
our Use: Your Compliance will much oblige,
Your Honors Humble Servants

Billy Porter Capt
Camps near Valley
Forge April 8th 1778.
John Francen
Silas Clark Lieut
Nehemiah Brown Serjeant
William Hasty Lieut
Edward Thorn Capt
William Mackay Ensign
Jonathan Egar 3d mate
John Foster Lieut
Thomas Francis Lieut
James Wooster Serjeant
Aaron Francis Lieut
Benj.a Shaw Ensign
Jno Jones Surg.n Mate
George White Capt
Isaac Childs Lieut
Hugh Mulloy Ens.n
Jonathan Libby Ensign
John Littlefield Ensign

Request for clothing signed by Capt. Billy Porter and others, written near Valley Forge shortly after the infamous winter of 1777–1778.[26]

1779

- *Penobscot Expedition (July 24, 1779–August 16, 1779)*. Massachusetts sent a flotilla of 44 vessels to Penobscot Bay in an unsuccessful attempt to regain control of the British-occupied mid-Maine coast.

One of a pair of mid-eighteenth century dueling pistols thought to have been owned by soldier Nicholas Dodge (1754–1835).[27] Dodge was one of Wenham's militiamen who mobilized during the Lexington Alarm. He did additional service that might have included the Battle of Bunker Hill.

16 Corcoran (2025) provides genealogical identification and detailed service records of each of Wenham's 222 servicemen.

17 *The New England Chronicle; or the Essex Gazette*, July 6, 1775, 4:

> RAN away from me the Subscriber, on
> Sunday Night the 25th of June, a Negro Man named *Scip*,
> about 30 Years of Age, about six Feet high, well set, speaks good
> English; he hath two Scars on his Temple, between his Eye and
> his Ear: He carried away with him a large Pack, two Suits of
> Cloaths [*sic*], one blue Coat lined with Red, one Coat of a brown Co-
> lour, one calico lapel Jacket, a black Jacket, one Pair of Moose-
> skin Breeches, a Pair of black and white Breeches, besides a great
> Coat and other Jackets, Shirts and Trowsers [*sic*], and a felt Hat. It
> is suspected he hath a Pass —- Whoever will take up said Negro
> and convey him to his Master, or commit him to Gaol [jail], so that
> he may be returned to me, shall have Four Dollars Reward and
> necessary Charges paid by me, JOHN LUMMUS.
> Ipswich, June 27, 1775.

Although Lummus said in the ad that he lived in Ipswich, he actually lived in that part of Ipswich that would later become Hamilton.

The ad provides a reminder that the word "dollar" applied to certain currencies that were in circulation well before the establishment of the United States.

18 J. Orne et al., MS (1781):

> Wenham March 27th 1781[.] Then Rec'd of the Town of Wenham
> four hundred & Sixteen Dollars in Silver or Equivalent Each
> of us the Subscribers as a Bounty for three years Service in the
> Continental army.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Left. Joshua Orne | John Perkins Jr. |
> | [Capt.] John Dodge | Asa Kimball |
> | Jacob Dodge for | Josiah Herrick Jr. [*sic*, 3rd] |
> | Bartholomew Dodge | Joshua Herrick |
> | | Newell Davison |
> | | Benjamin Davison |

19 M. Jewett, MS (1775). Wade, MS (1775). Whitney (attributed), MS (1775). Whitney, MS (1776). A Manchester-based company of militia also marched to Medford. Marsters (attributed), MS (1776).

Not all surviving manuscript records were written in the moment. T. Kimball, MS (1775) and B. Porter, MS (1775)—the muster rolls of Capt. Thomas Kimball's Company and Capt. Billy Porter's Company based in Wenham, companies that marched during the Lexington Alarm—were written in December 1775, eight months after the event.

20 Detail. Ca. 1875 copy. Map reproduction courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library.

21 John Lodge, "View of the Attack on Bunker's Hill, with the Burning of Charles Town, June 17, 1775." Published to illustrate Edward Barnard, *The New, Comprehensive, Impartial and Complete History of England* (London: Alexander Hogg, 1783?). Detail. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 24.90.1284.

[22] Johann Martin Will, "Battle of Saratoga, September 19, 1777." Published in Augsburg ca. 1777. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 33.104.2421.

[23] September 12, 1896 photograph by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, BHC453C. This is a photograph of what appears to be a miniature portrait of Dodge. The location of the portrait has yet to be determined.

See also Wenham Museum, x2016.170, a framed collection of eight portraits of nineteenth-century Wenham town clerks made in 1907 that incorporates this image.

[24] Photographed May 26, 1908 by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, x2010.519. This is a photograph of a miniature portrait of Kimball. The portrait is signed "Nixon," who has yet to be identified. The location of the portrait has yet to be determined.

[25] In 1778 Wenham's Abigail Patch and prisoner of war Thomas McFadzen announced their intention to marry. Essex Institute (1904), 145, 151. Further research is needed to identify McFadzen and to determine whether he was captured at Saratoga.

[26] B. Porter et al, MS (1778):

To the Honourable the board [*sic*] of War,
State of Massachusetts Bay.

WE the undernamed Subscribers Commissioned officers in Col'o Benjamin Tuppers Regiment Brigadier Gen'l John Patersons Brigade, belonging to the aforementioned State, having been Informed that the Hon'bl Council &c have been pleased to make Provision for Cloathing [*sic*], for the use of the officers who suffer'd the loss of the same, at the Retreat from Ticonderoga, We request whatever Cloathing [*sic*] may be provided for us, Your Honor's [*sic*] will please to order the Same to be deliver'd L't Col'o Littlefield for our use: your Compliance will much oblige,

Your Honor's Humble Servants;

Camp Near Valley Forge April 8th 1778. — Billy Porter Capt [20 other signers]

[27] Wenham Museum, 389. Its mate is 388. The pistols were inherited by Joseph Clifford Dodge (1853–1925), a great-grandson of Nicholas Dodge, and were donated to the museum in 1941. May 2, 2025 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran.

AT HOME

TOWN meeting minutes provide a view of the hot topics of the day. Those and other records highlight four themes that pervaded life in wartime Wenham:

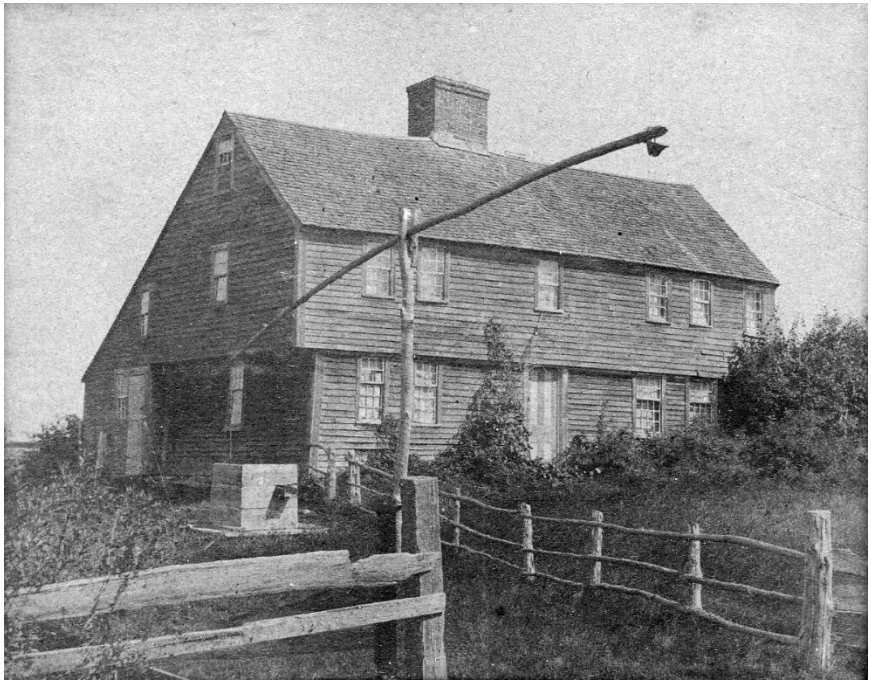
- self-governance prior to the Declaration of Independence,
- the challenges of a wartime economy,
- the seeking of inland shelter by coastal-resident elites, and
- debates on how to shape government following the Declaration of Independence.

Self-Governance

Soon after the Lexington Alarm, focus turned to the matter of self-governing a colony in open revolt. The Third Provincial Congress was convened at Watertown and in May 1775 Benjamin Fairfield (1708–1788) was sent to represent Wenham. (At the congress, Fairfield and two other delegates were tasked with assessing the accounts of those people who had been empowered to procure arms for the colonial army.)[28] The same month, Wenham created a Committee of Safety "to guard against our enemies" and "conduct as they think best for the safety of the town."[29]

Committees of Safety were created by towns across the colonies to carry out the business of their respective Provincial Congresses. Wenham's committee didn't leave much of a paper trail. However, one thing that they concerned themselves with was to implement a 1777 Massachusetts law that tried to curb wartime inflation by fixing prices for a range of goods. Prices for many items were set at the province level, but the Committee of Safety was authorized to set prices for any items not specified in the law and not other-

Continued on p. 26



Undated view of the Fiske-Ober House, formerly at 140 Cherry Street.[30] The Fiske-Ober House, which burned in 1889, was the home of soldiers Josiah Ober (1719–1797) and Samuel Ober (1753–1833). This photograph and that of the Porter-Crowninshield House show what many servicemen's houses looked like at the time of the Revolution.

The Porter-Crowninshield House, photographed in 1890, from the southeast.[31] This house does not display the overhanging second floor seen on the Fiske-Ober House. But by the mid-eighteenth century, overhanging second floors were deemed old fashioned, and many homeowners filled in the overhang to produce an unbroken façade. The house was the residence of soldier Benjamin Varnum (b. 1748). Capt. George Crowninshield Sr. (1734–1815), who ran a shipping business based in Salem, bought it in 1777 ostensibly to have a retreat that was outside the range of British cannon fire.

THE
AMERICAN
OR,
CONSTITUTIONAL
JOURNAL.
GAZETTE:
THE

VOL. I. NUMB. 5.

TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1776.

In CONGRESS, *July* 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION *by the* REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, *in* GENERAL CONGRESS *assembled.*

WHEN in the courſe of human events, it becomes neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the powers of the earth, the ſeperate and equal ſtation to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent reſpect to the opinions of mankind requires that they ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to the ſeparation.

We hold theſe truths to be ſelf-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among theſe are life, liberty, and the purſuit of happineſs. That to ſecure theſe rights, governments are inſtituted among men, deriving their juſt powers from the conſent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes deſtructive of theſe ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to them to alter their former ſyſtems of government. The hiſtory of the preſent King of Great-Britain is a hiſtory of repeated injuries and uſurpations, all having in direct object the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute tyranny over theſe States. To prove this, let facts be ſubmitted to a candid world.

He has refuſed his aſſent to laws, the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to paſs laws of immediate and preſſing importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their operation until his aſſent ſhould be obtained; and when ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend them.

He has refuſed to paſs other laws for the accommodation of large diſtricts of people, unleſs thoſe people would relinquiſh the right of repreſentation in the legiſlature, a right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together legiſlative bodies at places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the depoſitory of their public records, for the ſole purpoſe of fatiguing them into compliance with his aſſent to laws for eſtabliſhing judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their ſalaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and ſent hither ſwarms of officers to harraſs our people, and eat out their ſubſtance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, ſtanding armies, without the conſent of our Legiſlatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of and ſuperior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to ſubject us to a juriſdiction foreign to our conſtiution and unacknowledged by our laws; given his aſſent to their acts of pretended legiſlation:

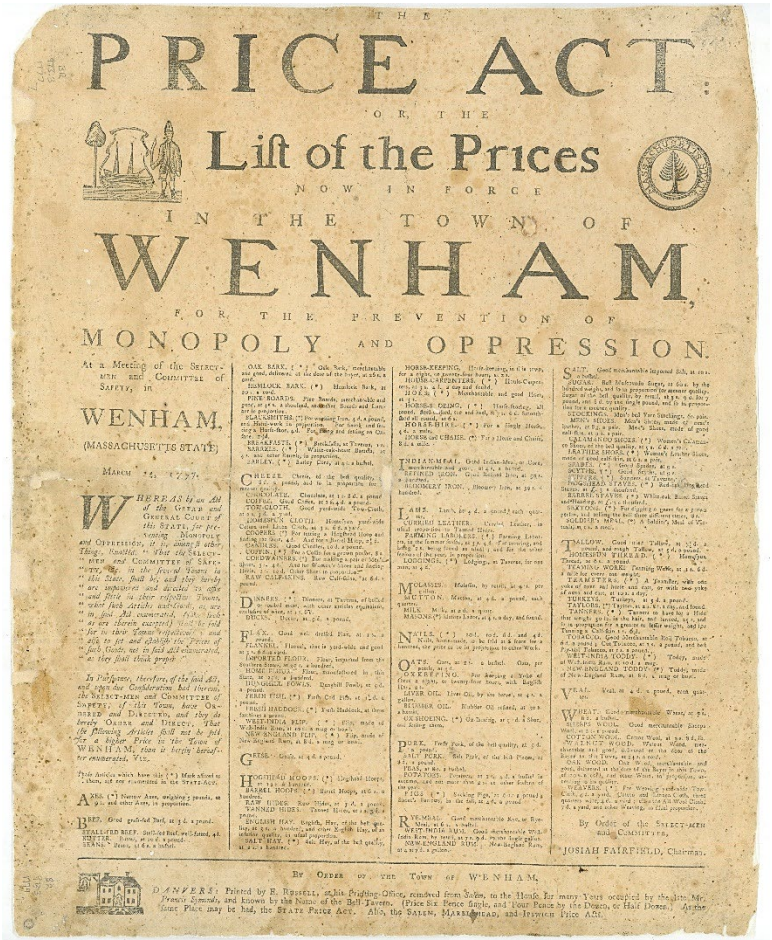
For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from puniſhment for any murders which they ſhould commit on the inhabitants of theſe States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For impoſing taxes on us without our conſent:

Front page of a Salem newspaper, providing the text of the Declaration of Independence, July 16, 1776. The absence of a headline or commentary is rather remarkable by today's standards. Wenham's town clerk, like clerks in other Massachusetts towns, transcribed the Declaration into the town's records.[32]



THE

PRICE ACT

OR, THE

List of the Prices

NOW IN FORCE

IN THE TOWN OF

WENHAM,

FOR THE PREVENTION OF

MONOPOLY AND OPPRESSION.

At a Meeting of the SELECT-MEN and COMMITTEE of SAFETY, in

WENHAM,

(MASSACHUSETTS STATE)

MARCH 14, 1777.

WHEREAS by an Act of the GREAT and GENERAL COURT of the STATE, for preventing MONOPOLY and OPPRESSION, it is among other Things, Resolved: "That the SELECT-MEN and COMMITTEE of SAFETY, &c. in the several Towns in "the State, shall by, and they hereby "are empowered and directed to offer "and fix a Price in their respective Towns, "upon such Articles manufactured, or any "in and Kind enumerated, both such "as are therein excepted) which be sold "for in their Towns respectively; and "also to set and establish the Prices of "such Goods, not to sold and enumerated, "as they shall think proper."

In Pursuance, therefore, of the said Act, and upon due Consideration had thereon, the SELECT-MEN and COMMITTEE of SAFETY, of this Town, have ORDERED and DIRECTED, and they do hereby ORDER and DIRECT, That the following Prices shall not be paid for a higher Price in the Town of WENHAM, than is hereby hereafter enumerated, Viz.

Such Articles which have (*) Mark affixed to them, are not enumerated in the STATE-ACT.

ASS. (*) Narrow Ass, weighing 7 pounds, at 9 s. and other Asses, in proportion.

BEEF. Good grass-fed Beef, at 3 d. a pound.

STALLFED BEEF. Stallfed Beef, and Veal, at

BUTTER. Butter, at 10 d. a pound.

BRAN. * Bran, at 1 d. a bushel.

OAK BARK. (*) * Oak Bark, merchantable and good, delivered at the door of the buyer, at 16 s. a cord.

HEMLOCK BARK. (*) Hemlock Bark, at 10 s. a cord.

PINE BOARDS. Pine Boards, merchantable and good, at 40 s. a thousand, and other Boards and Lumber in proportion.

BLACKSMITHS. (*) For shoeing Oxen, 3 s. 6 pence, per Horse-work in proportion. For Neck, and fitting to Ox-Yoke, 3 d.

BREAD & FLOUR. (*) Fresh Loaf, as Tavern, 1 s. 6 d. and other Loaves in proportion. Best Superfine Flour, at 6 s. and other Sorts, in proportion.

BARLEY. (*) Barley Flour, 18 s. a bushel.

CHEESE. Cheese, of the best quality, at 6 d. a pound, and in a proportion, for inferior quality.

CHOCOLATE. Chocolate, at 1 s. 8 d. a pound.

COFFEE. Good Coffee, at 1 s. 4 d. a pound.

COW-CLOTH. Good pasture-cloth, Two-Cloth, at 2 d. a Yard.

COMMON CLOTH. Home-spun yard-wide Common Cloth, at 1 s. 6 d. a Yard.

COPPERAS. (*) Best Copperas for dying and fulling the Cloth, 4 d. And for Black Dye, 6 d.

CANDLES. Good Candles, 10 d. a pound.

COTTON. (*) Best Cotton for a warm garden, 8 s.

CORDWAINERS. (*) For making a pair of Neat's-Shoes, 5 s. 6 d. And for Women's Shoes and Stuffed Shoes, 5 s. 6 d. Calve Shoes in proportion.

RAW CLIPPINGS. Raw Clippings, at 6 d. a pound.

DRESSING. (*) Dressing, at Taverns, of boiled or roasted meat, with other articles equivalent, exclusive of wine, 1 s. 6 d.

DITTO. Ditto, at 3 d. a pound.

FLAX. Good and dressed Flax, at 1 s. a pound.

FLANNEL. Flannel, that is yard-wide and good at 3 s. 6 d. a yard.

IMPORTED FLOUR. Flour, imported from the Southern States, 18 s. a hundred.

HOME FLOUR. Flour, manufactured in this State, at 16 s. a hundred.

HOGSHEAD TOWLS. Hogshead Towels, at 3 d. a pound.

HERB TEA. (*) Herb Tea 10 s. at 3 d. a pound.

PICKLED HERRINGS. (*) Fresh Herrings, at three for a penny.

WHITEMOUTH RUM. (*) Rum, made of Molasses, at 2 s. 6 d. a quart.

NEW-ENGLAND RUM. (*) Rum, made of New-England Rum, at 2 s. a quart or more.

GRASS. Grass, at 4 d. a pound.

HOGSHEAD HOOPS. (*) Hogshead Hoops, at 12 s. a hundred.

BARREL HOOPS. (*) Barrel Hoops, at 6 s. a hundred.

RAW HIDES. Raw Hides, at 3 d. a pound.

TANNED HIDES. Tanned Hides, at 1 s. 6 d. a pound.

ENGLISH HAY. English Hay, of the best quality, 3 s. a hundred; and other English Hay, at an abatement, in a due proportion.

SALT HAY. (*) Salt Hay, of the best quality, at 2 s. a hundred.

HORSE-KEEPING. Horse-keeping, in the yard, for a night, or passing-hour hours, 1 s. 6 d.

HOUSE-CARPENTRY. (*) House-Carpenter's work, 4 s. a day and found.

HOUSE-LAMB. (*) Housed lamb and good Hops, at 3 d. a lb.

HORSE-KEEPING. (*) Horse-keeping, all winter, Hay, good, but not best, 8 s. a-week. Summer, feed all round, 10 s.

HORSE-HIRE. (*) For a Single Horse, 4 s. a mile.

HORSE and CHAISE. (*) For a Horse and Chaise, 8 d. a mile.

INDIAN MEAL. Good Indian Meal, at 3 s. a bushel.

IRON. Iron, for 4 d. a pound, each quality.

LEATHER. Good Leather, in what proportion to Tanned Hides.

LABOURING LABOURER. (*) Labouring Labourer, in the Summer months, at 3 s. 4 d. For mowing, and hoeing, (*) being found in victuals; and for the other Labourers, in proportion.

LODGING. (*) Lodging, in Taverns, for one night, at 4 d.

MOLASSES. Molasses, by retail, at 4 d. per quart.

MUTTON. Mutton, at 4 d. a pound, each quarter.

MILK. Milk, at 4 d. a quart.

MASONS. (*) Masons Labour, at 4 s. a day, and found.

NAILS. (*) 10d. 20d. 30d. and 40d. Nails, best-sawed, at 6s. 8d. a hundred, for 4 pence, and in proportion to other Nails.

OATS. Oats, at 2 s. a bushel. Oats, per peck, at 6 d.

OX-KEEPING. For keeping a Yoke of Oxen a night, in Sweep-Hay Stock, with English Hay, 1 s.

OLIVE OIL. Olive Oil, by the bottle, at 4 s. a gallon.

RUBBER OIL. Rubber Oil refined, at 10 s. a bottle.

OX-SHOEING. (*) Ox-Shoeing, at 16 d. A Shoe, and fitting them.

PORK. Pork, of the best quality, at 3 d. a pound.

SALT PORK. Salt Pork, of the best Sorts, at 4 d. a pound.

PEAS, at 8 s. a bushel.

POTATOES. Potatoes, at 3 s. a bushel in autumn, and not more than 4 s. at other Seasons of the year.

PIGS. (*) Sucking Pigs, at 6 d. a pound; and Shoats, or any Pigs, at 4 d. a pound.

PEARMAIN. Good merchantable Pearmain Cider, at 6 s. a bushel.

SWEET-APPLE CIDER. Good merchantable Sweet-Apple Cider, by retail, at 2 s. 6 d. per wine bottle full.

NEW-ENGLAND CIDER. Merchantable Rum Cider, at 8 s. a gallon.

SALT. Good merchantable imported Salt, at 10 s. a bushel.

SUGAR. Best Muscovado Sugar, at 60 s. by the hundred weight; and in a proportion for inferior quality.

SHOES. Best Sole-leather Shoes, per pair, 8 s.

MEN's SHOES. Men's Shoes, made of coarse leather, at 6 s. a pair. Men's Boots, made of good calf-skin, at 14 s. a pair.

SQUARE-TOED SHOES. (*) Women's Calamanco Shoes, of the best quality, at 5 s. 6 d. a pair.

LEATHER SHOES. (*) Women's Leather Shoes, made of good calf-skin, at 6 s. a pair.

SHEEP. (*) Good Sheep, at 20 s.

SAYINGS. (*) Good Sayings, at 10 s.

SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS. (*) Spirituous Liquors, as Tavern.

THREAD-LACE STAVES. (*) Thread-lace Hand Staves, at 4 d. a hundred.

RIBBEL STAVES. (*) A Ribbel-staff, Hand-Staves, at 4 d. a hundred.

SKETCHES. (*) For a piece of paper for a penny pocket, and setting the best three staff-sentences, 4 d.

SOLDIER's MEAL. (*) A Soldier's Meal of Victuals, at 1 s. 6 d.

TALLOW. Good neat Tallow, at 5 d. a pound. Tallow, rough Tallow, at 3 d. a pound.

THOROUGH-FIXED D. (*) Thorough-fixed Dye, at 2 s. a yard.

TEAMING WORK. Teaming Work, at 3 s. 6 d. a day for every one employed.

TEAMSTERS. (*) A Teamster, with one yoke of oxen and horse and cart, or with two yoke of oxen and cart, at 3 s. 6 d. a day.

TURKEYS. Turkeys, at 3 d. a pound.

TAYLORS. (*) Taylor, at 4 s. 6 d. a day, and found.

TANNERS. (*) Tanners to find by a Hide for a Hide, get his in the hair, and leavend, 25 s. and for a preparation for a green or hide weight, and for Tanning, 25 s. a hide.

TOBACCO. Good Merchantable Best Tobacco, at 6 d. a pound. Cut Tobacco, at 12 d. a pound, and best Pigtail Tobacco, at 12 d. a pound.

WEST-INDIA TODDY. (*) Toddy, made of West-India Rum, at 2 s. 6 d. a mug.

NEW-ENGLAND TODDY. (*) Toddy, made of New-England Rum, at 8 d. a mug or bowl.

VEAL. Veal, at 4 d. a pound, veal quarter.

WHEAT. Good merchantable Wheat, at 5 s. WHEAT, RYE. Good merchantable Rye, at 4 s. a bushel.

WHEAT, INDIAN. Good merchantable Indian Wheat, at 3 s. a bushel.

WOOL. Good Wool, at 2 s. 6 d. a pound.

WOOD. Oak Wood, merchantable and good, delivered at the door of the buyer by the Foot, at 16 s. a cord. Pine Wood, in proportion according to quality.

WAGES. (*) For Women, merchantable Time Work, 2 s. a day. Linnen and Woolen Cloth, spun by the yard, and other Weaving, in like proportion.

By Order of the SELECT-MEN and COMMITTEE,

JOSIAH FAIRFIELD, Chairman.

BY ORDER OF THE TOWN OF WENHAM,

DANVERS: Printed by E. RUSSELL, at his Printing-Office, removed from Salem, to the House, for many Years occupied by the late Mr. Francis Symonds, and known by the Name of the Bell Tavern. (PRICE SIX Pence Single, and Four Pence by the Dozen, or Half Dozen.) Where Home Price may be had, the STATE PRICE ACT. Also, the SALEM, MARBLEHEAD, and IPSWICH Price ACT.

Broadside announcing the prices of goods and services in the town of Wenham, published in 1777 and signed by Josiah Fairfield, chairman of the Wenham Committee of Safety.[33]

wise exempted from the law.[34]

In April 1776, in anticipation that Massachusetts would form a new government, a convention was called for delegates from Essex County towns to meet at Ipswich, where they were to address the matter of how each town should be represented in the new government. Wenham voted to send Dr. Tyler Porter (1735–1811).[35]

Wartime Economy

Wenham's economy, of course, relied to a certain extent on the circulation of currency. But its economy was also largely barter-based. The Wenham Museum's collection includes account books maintained by members of the Dodge family[36] that show that, even before the war, farmers kept track of debits and credits with each other in the exchange of goods and services, and would go for years before reconciling those accounts with each other.

Records from the period describe how Wenham participated in various forums to help shape the fledgling government. They also speak to the difficulties of the wartime economy. In addition, Wenham provided inland shelter for two of Salem's shipping families.

Despite the government's effort to control inflation, scarcity of goods was a chronic problem. At first, Wenham's focus was to raise money for Bostonians, in response to the displacement of Boston families and the reality that Boston was under siege for eleven months in 1775 and 1776.[37] Wenham passed the hat, but Wenhamites' response was lukewarm:

> Dr. Tyler Porter hath received the sum of four pounds of contributed money. One pound, eighteen shillings and two pence of said sum has been expended in conveying one Roberts and his family to Watertown in the year 1775. The remaining sum of two pounds, one shilling and two pence, the said doctor informs, was laid out by the selectmen's order for cotton and linen cloth for the town's use, but there being no occasion for it, he the doctor hath converted it to his own use and is ready to account with the town for the same.[38]

Town meeting votes in 1778, 1779 and 1780 authorized the town to buy food, wool and flax for the families of soldiers who were away fighting.[39] In 1780 the town formed a committee to procure beef to supply the army.[40]

Inland Shelter

Salem, like other centers of the shipping industry, was a logical target for the British navy. During the war two of Salem's shipping families bought houses in Wenham, ostensibly to live near their businesses while staying out of range of British cannon fire.

Capt. George Crowninshield Sr. (1734–1815) and his wife Mary (Derby) Crowninshield (1737–1813) lived on Essex Street in Salem until about 1783 in a house owned by her father, Capt. Richard Derby (1712–1783). In 1777 Crowninshield bought the house at 9 Maple Street (the Porter-Crowninshield House), which he owned for eleven years.[41]

Capt. John Gardner Jr. (1731–1805) and his second wife Elizabeth (Pickering) Gardner (1737–1823) lived on Essex Street in Salem. In 1777 Gardner bought the Thomas Brown Jr. House that was formerly near 4 Linden Street.[42]

Shaping Future Government

Massachusetts made its first attempt at writing state constitution in 1778. Wenham sent Stephen Dodge (1736–1816) to a convention of delegates from Essex County towns that was held in Ipswich to review the proposed document.[43] The delegates as a group were dissatisfied with it, articulating eighteen objections that included the absence of a Bill of Rights and inadequate separation of powers. The Essex County delegates weren't alone in their dissatisfaction; voters across Massachusetts rejected the constitution by nearly five to one.[44]

Massachusetts tried again, producing a second proposed constitution in 1780. Although the ratification process in 1778 was attempted via a popular vote, the process used in 1780 was to have town meetings vote up or down on each proposed article. In Wenham, a committee of nine men was chosen to review the proposed constitution and present their collective opinion in town meeting. Wenham voted to ratify the constitution, but with some modifications.[45]

Massachusetts' ratification of the Federal Constitution was done via the Massachusetts Ratification Convention in Boston in 1788. Wenham sent Jacob Herrick (b? d?).[46]

Fairfield Burying Ground, resting place of Benjamin Fairfield (1762–1781) and soldier Joseph Fairfield (1755–1808). Benjamin and Joseph were buried in this tomb. Benjamin represented Wenham at the Third Provincial Congress in Watertown in 1775. Joseph fought in the Second Battle of Saratoga and subsequently marched British and Hessian prisoners of war to the Boston area. Wenham men guarded a portion of these prisoners at Prospect Hill, Somerville. Joseph and his brother Samuel (1748–1810) built this this tomb at the request of their aging father Benjamin about the year 1787.[47]

28 Lincoln (1838), 274, 445. Allen (1860), 76. Wenham Historical Society (1940), 283.

29 Wenham Historical Society (1940), 283. Wenham's original committee consisted of Caleb Kimball (1731–1799), Dr. Tyler Porter (1735–1811), Daniel Kilham 5th (1727–1789), Stephen Dodge (1736–1816) and Thomas Kimball (1730–1805).

In 1776 the Committee of Safety consisted of John Friend Jr. (1718–1785), Dr. Tyler Porter, Stephen Dodge, Caleb Kimball and Jacob Dodge (1716–1792). Wenham Historical Society (1959), 2. The 1777 Committee of Safety consisted of Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802), Josiah Swett (1741–1808), Josiah Fairfield (1701–1777) and Thomas Kimball. *Ibid.*, 19. The 1778 Committee of Safety consisted of Josiah Swett, Jacob Dodge, John Dodge (1717–1779), Matthew Fairfield (1745–1813) and Andrew Cole (1729–1787). *Ibid.*, 25. The 1779 Committee of Safety consisted of John Gardner Jr. (1731–1805), Dr. Tyler Porter and Pelatiah Brown (bp. 1736–1830). *Ibid.*, 30. The 1780 Committee of Safety consisted of Thomas Kimball, Richard Dodge Jr., Daniel Kilham 5th, Andrew Cole, Josiah Ober Jr. (1747–1820) and Daniel Herrick (1749–1829). *Ibid.*, 36. The 1781 Committee of Safety consisted of Daniel Kilham 5th, Matthew Fairfield and Richard Dodge Jr. *Ibid.*, 42. The 1782 Committee of Safety consisted of Matthew Fairfield, John Dodge (1740–1811) and Josiah Ober Jr. *Ibid.*, 48.

A 1778 town meeting vote referring to an unnamed committee appears to have been referring to the Committee of Safety: "Voted That the Committee be Impowered [*sic*] to Issue orders and Directhons [*sic*] as they in their Wisdom Shall think Best for the Saftey [*sic*] of this Town." Wenham Historical Society (1959), 28.

30 Unidentified photographer. Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, 2002.-10.002.

31 November 6, 1890 photograph by Benjamin H. Conant (1843–1921). Image courtesy of the Wenham Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, B. H. Conant Collection, x2017.079.

The windows are likely of nineteenth-century vintage, replacements for similarly sized eighteenth-century windows (which would have been composed of a larger number of smaller windowpanes) or perhaps for much-smaller seventeenth-century ones.

32 *The American Gazette: or the Constitutional Journal*, July 16, 1776, 1. Detail. The *American Gazette* was published weekly and didn't receive a copy of the Declaration in time to include it in the *Gazette*'s edition of July 9.

The Massachusetts Governor's Council ordered that the Declaration be read by every minister to his respective congregation and be copied by every town clerk into his respective town's records. Wenham's town clerk recorded the Declaration in March or April of 1777. Town of Wenham, MS (1731–1777), 190-192 (frames 269-271). Wenham Historical Society (1959), 13-18.

33 Fairfield (1777). Photograph courtesy of the Phillips Library, Rowley, Massachusetts.

34 Fairfield (1777). Secretary of the Commonwealth (1886), 583-589, "An Act to Prevent Monopoly and Oppression," passed January 25, 1777. Wenham Historical Society (1959), 20-21.

By 1779, however, price-fixing was done not by the Committee of Safety but rather by a different committee set up for this purpose. In 1779 a convention was held at Concord to address the problem of inflation. Wenham did not send a delegate, but did vote in a subsequent town meeting to abide by the convention's proceedings. A. Orne (1779). Wenham Historical Society (1959), 33, 34.

[35] Ward and Orne (1776). Wenham Historical Society (1959), 4. At issue: should each town send an equal number of representatives to represent them, or should the number of representatives vary depending on the size of the population of a given town?

Documentation of the output of the convention has yet to be found. Indeed, none of the May 1776 issues of the Newburyport-based *Essex Journal* covered the convention. The *Essex Journal* was published by John Mycall (1750–1833), who in 1778 published the output of a convention held that year in Ipswich. If Mycall didn't cover the 1776 convention, is that a signal that the 1776 convention didn't actually occur?

[36] J. Dodge, MS (ca. 1762). R. Dodge Jr., MS (1766).

[37] Wenham Historical Society (1959), 6, 7, 11-12.

[38] *Ibid.*, 11-12, edited.

[39] *Ibid.*, 24, 30, 32 (wife of James Poland), 37.

[40] *Ibid.*, 41, 42, 46.

[41] Essex County Deeds 136:6 (Tarrant Putnam et al. to George Crowninshield, 1777); 156: 209 (Eunice Porter et al. to George Crowninshield, 1777); and 148:223 (George and Mary Crowninshield to Thomas Clark, 1788). Wenham Historical Society (1959), 33-34, 1779 description of fence between Crowninshield's and Matthew Fairfield's properties.

The Crowninshields' residence in Salem was the Christopher Babbidge House, half of which still stands at 46½ Essex Street. Perley (1905), 76.

[42] Essex County Deeds 135:61-62 (Thomas [Jr.] and Elizabeth Brown to John Gardner Jr., 1777), first parcel, the two pages having been rebound in incorrect order. Essex County Probate 10635 (Capt. John Gardner [Jr.], 1805), :6-7 Will (1794). Gardner (1933), 100-103.

> Gardner's great-grandson Robert C. Winthrop Jr. (1834–1905), wrote in 1866:
>
> The connection of the Pickering, Gardner, and Blanchard families with Wenham arose from the fact that in the Revolutionary War apprehension was felt lest Salem might be visited by a hostile fleet. Accordingly[,] Col. Timothy Pickering and his brother-in-law Mr. John Gardner of Salem purchased farms in Wenham for their families to retire to in case of need. This example was shortly after followed by Dr. Samuel Blanchard who had married the daughter of Mr. Gardner. All three families subsequently became very fond of Wenham.

Winthrop, MS (1866). Winthrop was mistaken about the timing of Pickering's and Blanchard's respective moves to Wenham; Pickering and Blanchard bought their Wenham properties *after* the Revolution.

[43] Wenham Historical Society (1959), 27.

[44] Parsons (1778). Morison (1917), 16-18. Wenham Historical Society (1959), 34.

Parsons (1778) and the Essex Convention of 1778 are known collectively as "the Essex Result."

[45] Wenham's committee consisted of Rev. Joseph Swain (1723–1792), William Cleaves (1720–1781), Stephen Dodge, Dr. Tyler Porter, Thomas Kimball, John Friend Jr., Richard Dodge Jr., Samuel Tarbox (1715–1784) and Matthew Fairfield.

Across Massachusetts town meetings voted on each article and collected feedback on those articles that did not pass, sending their votes and feedback to a constitutional convention that was to modify the objectionable components based on the tenor of the feedback collected. Wenham had three objections: (1) strengthen the proposed language so as to require the

payment of taxes to support the Congregational Church, (2) restrain the Liberty of the Press such that no one could publish anything defamatory against a person without that person's signature, and (3) require the governor to declare himself a Protestant. Wenham Historical Society (1959), 39.

46 Secretary of the Commonwealth (1856), 55, 88. Wenham Historical Society (1959), 77.

47 William Fairfield Drive. May 3, 2025 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran. For construction of the tomb and interment of Joseph Fairfield in it, see Ganz (2013), 118, 128, 171.

EXODUS

MASSACHUSETTS, like other states, had financed its war effort largely through the printing of paper money that hadn't been backed by silver or gold. The value of paper money quickly fell, which worsened the inflation that had started during the war—prompting the displacement of farmers who needed to find less-expensive land to cultivate. New Hampshire and Vermont suddenly became very attractive to many of Wenham's war-veteran farmers. At least 23 of Wenham's veterans (10% of Wenham's servicemen) moved their families to New Hampshire; five moved to Vermont.[48]

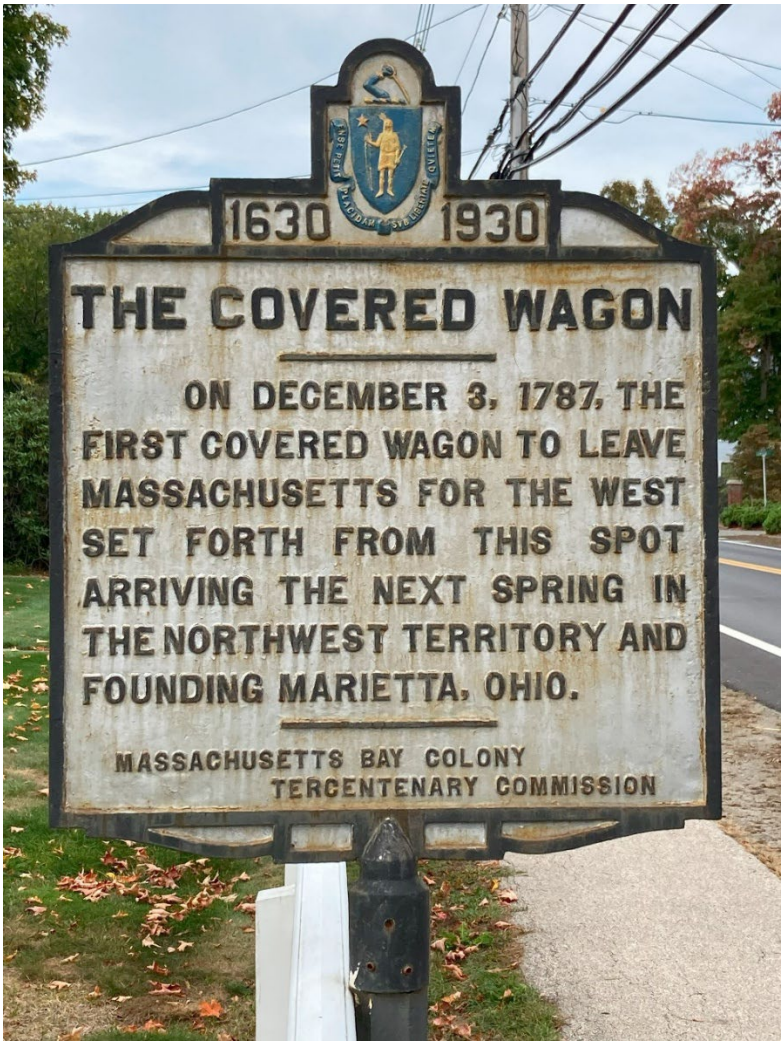
Faced with the difficulties of the post-war economy, over 10% of Wenham's veterans moved away from Essex County in search of less-expensive land. Most of Wenham's community of formerly enslaved people also relocated.

Matthew Fairfield's (1745–1813) was the most dramatic case of a Wenham veteran struggling with the post-war economy. Fairfield had been a member of the committee that enlisted Wenham's minute men; a captain of a company of soldiers during the war; a member of the town's Committee of Safety; and a member of the 1780 committee that reviewed the proposed Massachusetts constitution on behalf of the town. But during the first half of the 1780s he was party to a number of suits, some where he was the plaintiff, but others where he was the defendant accused of nonpayment of debts. And, during the spring of 1783, Matthew took to counterfeiting. He and two accomplices took a £6.55.9d. note and altered it to look like a £600 note. (The document itself was an I.O.U. issued by the treasurer of the commonwealth acknowledging a loan to the commonwealth. The loan was in the amount of £6.55.9d and was to be repaid in four years—in gold or silver coin—at 6% annual interest. The uneven principal value of the note seems strange by today's standards, but it was typical of the time. Also typical of the time: The note and

others like it circulated in commerce much as currency does today.) But, once the recipient of the altered note took Fairfield to court, Fairfield ended up losing part of his West Wenham farm, paid a £50 fine as well as the costs of prosecution, and spent three months in jail. Fairfield moved his family to New Hampshire just a few months after serving his sentence.[49]

The conclusion of the war, despite the problem of inflation, opened up the economic opportunity of newly acquired land west of the Appalachians. Haffield White (1739–1818), who moved from Wenham to Danvers early in the war and was a captain of a company of soldiers, became a member of the Ohio Company, which was formed to settle the Northwest Territory. White led a group of pioneers who left Hamilton for Marietta, Ohio in 1787.[50]

Meanwhile, as dozens of Wenham's farmers were relocating to other rural areas, a different kind of exodus was happening for Wenham's people of color. Prior to the war, enslavement had been commonplace throughout Essex County. In the mid-eighteenth century one in seventeen of Wenham's residents was enslaved. By the time of the Revolution, though, slavery was on the decline—as a growing number of whites saw the analogy between freedom from Britain and freedom of enslaved labor. But once freed, what was a formerly enslaved family to do? Housing and paid work had to be found. Some of Wenham's formerly enslaved people were able to negotiate room and board from their former enslavers, but most ended up moving to urban areas to find employment.[51]


1630 1930
THE COVERED WAGON
ON DECEMBER 3, 1787, THE FIRST COVERED WAGON TO LEAVE MASSACHUSETTS FOR THE WEST SET FORTH FROM THIS SPOT ARRIVING THE NEXT SPRING IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY AND FOUNDING MARIETTA, OHIO.
MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY
TERCENTENARY COMMISSION

Embarkation point for the party of pioneers led by Haffield White who left Hamilton for Marietta, Ohio in 1787. A group of men assembled at the house of Rev. Manasseh Cutler (1742–1823) on Bay Road in Hamilton. From there they went to Danvers where they joined White and the rest of the Ohio Company party before making their way to the Northwest Territory.[52]

48 Includes veterans who fought on behalf of Wenham who weren't living in Wenham during the war. In some cases, veterans moved prior to the war's end. Corcoran (2025).

New Hampshire: Amos Batchelder Jr. (1761–1843); Ebenezer Batchelder 3rd (1750–1849); John Batchelder (1755–1848); Josiah Batchelder Jr. (1752–1827); Moses Brown (1759?–1809); Ammi Dodge (1751–1826); Simon Dodge (1751–1838); Matthew Fairfield (1745–1813); Seth Goodhue (bp. 1754–1836); Abner Haggett (1759–1844); Josiah Herrick Jr. (1733–1799); Josiah Herrick 3rd (1762–1853); Moses Hibbert (b. 1760); Josiah Howard (1758–1833); Ebenezer Kimball (1740–1821); Nathaniel Martin (bp. 1761–1827); Josiah Ober Jr. (1747–1820); Reuben Patch (bp. 1758–1827); Daniel Reddington Jr. (1763–1834), who subsequently moved to Indiana; Nathaniel Raymond Jr. (1749–1802); Josiah Swett (1741–1808); Benjamin Varnum (b. 1748); and Benjamin Warner (bp. 1756–1843).

Vermont: Jonathan Cummings (bp. 1755–1846); Jonathan Fiske (1751–1825); John Giddings (1748–1835); Francis Porter (1748–1815); and Moses Titcomb (bp. 1746–1830).

Nathaniel Gott (1755–1828) moved his family to New York.

49 Corcoran (2021), 2:181-185.

50 Hildreth (1852), 396-397. Cutler and Cutler (1888), 1:329-330. See also Cole (1943), 72-73.

51 Corcoran (2024).

52 630 Bay Road, Hamilton, at the Wigglesworth-Cutler House. October 4, 2024 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran.

CELEBRITIES & MYTHS

THREE myths about Revolutionary War celebrities' connections with Wenham need to be put to rest.

Myth #1: Paul Revere made the Congregational Church's bell.

Revere made a lot of bells over the course of his career, but the bell in the tower of the Wenham Congregational Church is not one of them. That bell was made by Henry Northey Hooper (1799–1865) of Boston,[53] a man who had apprenticed in Revere's foundry.

Myth #2: George Washington stopped in Wenham when he toured Essex County.

Washington visited Essex County in 1789. He made stops at Lynn ("where, it is said, 175,000 pairs of shoes, women's chiefly, have been made in a year by about 400 workmen") … Marblehead (a place that "has the appearance of antiquity, the houses are old, the streets dirty, and the common people not very clean") … Salem (where he stayed overnight, and was rather impressed by the Beverly-Salem Bridge) … and Beverly (where he toured the cotton factory).

> From this place [Beverly], with escorts of horse, I passed on to Ipswich (about 10 miles), at the entrance of which I was met and welcomed by the selectmen and received by a regiment of militia. At this place I was met by Mr. Dalton and some other gentlemen from Newburyport, partook of a cold collation, and proceeded on to the last mentioned place [Newburyport] where I was received with much respect and [a] parade, about 4 o'clock. In the evening there were rockets and some other fireworks—and every other demonstration to welcome me to the town.

Washington's itinerary took him as far north as Kittery. His return trip took him through southern New Hampshire to Andover, and then to Billerica and Lexington.[54]

So, Washington passed through Wenham as he went from Beverly to Ipswich, but he didn't stop here.

Myth #3: The Marquis de Lafayette stopped in Wenham when he toured Essex County.

Lafayette visited Essex County in 1824, his tour chronicled by his private secretary Auguste Levasseur. According to Levasseur, Lafayette had breakfast in Marblehead and arrived in Salem in the afternoon, where he was honored at a celebratory dinner.

> Immediately after [dinner] we quitted Salem to pass the night at Newburyport. Although the weather continued to be disagreeable, [Lafayette] could not dissuade the Salem citizens from escorting him. They galloped alongside of his carriage, sword in hand, for nearly nine [*sic*] miles, at the risk of falling twenty times, so very bad were the roads. Notwithstanding all our diligence it was late at night when we arrived at Newburyport.

Lafayette then visited Portsmouth. "We left Portsmouth for Boston …at midnight and arrived there at two o'clock."[55]

So, as was the case with George Washington's visit, Lafayette passed through Wenham, but he didn't stop here.

Debunked myths notwithstanding, after the war Wenham was the residence of one of the Revolution's celebrities.

Timothy Pickering

Salem native Timothy Pickering (1745–1829) was a colonel in the Essex County militia at the start of the war. Later he was colonel adjutant general to George Washington (1777–1778), a member of the Board of War (1777), and colonel and quartermaster general of the Continental Army (1780–1785). After the war he was, among other things, United States Postmaster General under President Washington (1791–1795), Secretary of War under Washington (1795), Secretary of State (1795–1800) under Presidents Washington and Adams, United States Senator (1803–1811) and member of the United State House of Representatives (1813–1817).

Timothy and Rebecca (White) Pickering. These portraits were painted during their Wenham years.[56]

The Goldsmith-Pickering House, photographed in 2021.[57]

Silver tablespoon owned by Timothy and Rebecca Pickering. The handle is engraved on the front with "RP" for Rebecca Pickering. It is engraved on the back with "LON / L.B.S. / I.B.S." for descendants Lucy Orne Nichols (1816–1883), Lucy Bowditch Stone (1850–1918) and Ingersoll Bowditch Stone (1883–1965). The spoon is marked by silversmith Edward Lang (1742–1830) of Salem and might have been made in 1776.[58]

In 1806 he bought the Goldsmith-Pickering House at 78 Larch Row, where he and his wife Rebecca (White) Pickering (1754–1828) lived until 1820. Although the Pickerings moved to Salem that year, Timothy Pickering continued to work the Larch Row farm on weekdays until his death.[59] He planted linden trees on the farm in the shape of a capital "P." It is thought that the lindens were a gift to Pickering from Alexander Hamilton.[60] Problem is, Hamilton died two years before Pickering bought his Wenham farm. It is *conceivable* that Hamilton gifted the trees to Pickering when Pickering was living in Danvers (prior to his move to Wenham)[61] and that Pickering transplanted the trees. But the Alexander Hamilton aspect of the linden trees' story has a whiff of the apocryphal.

53 Embossed on the bell: "CAST BY HENRY N HOOPER & COMPANY BOSTON". May 13, 2025 inspection by Robert O. Corcoran.

54 Lossing (1861), 38-47, punctuation edited.

Beverly's cotton factory was on a site between current-day 2 Dodge Street and 8 Dodge Street, adjacent to the North Beverly Fire Station.

55 Levasseur (1829), 1:71-75, 81, punctuation edited.

The reference to a nine-mile distance between Salem and Newburyport is clearly an error. Further research is needed to determine whether the error occurs in Levasseur's manuscript (as opposed to an error of editing). If so, did Levasseur perhaps confuse Ipswich with Newburyport?

A newspaper account provides the following:

> About half past 5 o'clock Gen. Lafayette took leave of the company at the Hall [where dinner had been served], attended by a deputation from the Committee of Arrangements who were instructed to accompany him to Ipswich, but the General intreated the committee to dispense with this attention, on account of the inclemency of the weather, and he was escorted out of town by the battalion of Cavalry.

Salem Gazette, August 31, 1824, 3.

56 Timothy Pickering: 1948 copy by Arthur S. Conrad of an 1808 portrait painted by Gilbert Stuart. Diplomatic Reception Rooms, Washington, D.C. Rebecca (White) Pickering: 1817–1818 portrait by Gilbert Stuart. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

57 78 Larch Row. January 3, 2021 photograph by Robert O. Corcoran.

58 Collection of the author. Provenance: Spencer P. Mallory, Mallory Antiques, Chadds Ford, PA, July 17, 2020. The spoon is marked "E•LANG" (Kane mark A) on the back of the handle. Length: 8 ¾". Eleven-lobed shell motif on the back of the bowl near the handle.

Edward Lang's account book includes an entry dated November 6, 1776 that records Boston silversmith Stephen Emery (1749–1801)'s purchase of 24 pair of knee buckles and "3^{pwt} .12^{gr} Silver Left of Coll:^{l} Pickering spoon." Lang, MS (1764–1801), 60B. Kane (1998), 466. Three pennyweights is just 0.16 of an ounce. Based on the four large spoons Emery provided Lang in 1777 and the six large spoons Emery provided Lang in April 1777, three pennyweights was worth 1*s* 2*d*, or the equivalent of one-tenth the amount of silver in a single large spoon. Kane (1998), 467. Given the business relationship between Lang and Emery, it is possible that Lang's "maker's mark" on the spoon is instead a retailer's mark. In other words, it's possible that Emery—not Lang—actually made the spoon.

Pickering's 1829 estate inventory includes eighteen large silver tablespoons. Essex County Probate 21822 (Hon. Timothy Pickering, 1829), :32 Inventory (1829). Since the Pickerings owned multiple tablespoons, we can't know for sure whether this spoon is the one in the November 6, 1776 Lang account book entry.

59 Essex County Deeds 178:242 (Samuel Russell Trevett and Sarah Trevett to Timothy Pickering, 1806). See also Essex County Deeds 252:18 (John and Octavius Pickering, executors, to Mary Beckford, 1829), first parcel, for the sale of the Goldsmith-Pickering House by Pickering's executors. Pickering and Upham (1867–1873), 4:99, 118, 120, 125, 134-135, 159, 196, 214, 216, 251, 265, 275-276, 309-313, 321-324, 354, 397, 417-418, 426, 453.

60 Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 90.

[61] The Pickerings leased the James Putnam Jr. House at 42 Summer Street, Danvers, from 1801 to 1804. Tapley (1923), 106 and photograph opposite 104. MACRIS, DAN.77 (1986). They owned the Rea-Proctor House at 180 Conant Street, Danvers, from 1804 to 1806. Essex County Deeds 173:224 (George Stuart Johonnot to Timothy Pickering, 1804); and 180:46 (Timothy and Rebecca Pickering to Nathan Porter, 1806). MACRIS, DAN.179 (1981, 1982).

APPENDICES

A: **List of Wenham's Servicemen**

B: **Sites of Wenham-Resident Servicemen's Houses**

C: **1774 Newspaper Account Regarding Nathaniel Brown Jr.**

APPENDIX A:
LIST OF WENHAM'S SERVICEMEN

For genealogical identification and service records, see Corcoran (2025).

WENHAM-RESIDENT SERVICE-MEN

1. Andrew Allen (1743–ca.1782)
2. Cornelius Baker (1743–1808)
3. Amos Batchelder (1727–1809)
4. Amos Batchelder Jr. (1761–1843)
5. Ebenezer Batchelder 3rd (1750–1849)
6. Israel Batchelder (1753–1777)
7. John Batchelder (1755–1848)
8. Joseph Batchelder (b. 1749)
9. Josiah Batchelder Jr. (1753–1827)
10. Abraham Brown (b. 1750)
11. James Brown (b. 1759)
12. Moses Brown (1759?–1809)
13. Nathan Brown (b? d. 1792)
14. Pelatiah Brown (bp. 1736–1830)
15. Sampson Brown (b? d. after 1792)
16. Samuel Brown (b. 1752)
17. Thomas Brown Jr. (1721–1795)
18. Joseph Burns or Byrne (b? d?)
19. William Cleaves Jr. (b. 1757 d. after 1789)
20. Andrew Cole (1729–1787)
21. Caleb Coy Jr. (bp. 1742–1776)
22. Benjamin Davison (b. 1765)
23. Newell Davison (b? d. 1786
24. Abel Dodge (bp. 1756)
25. Amos Dodge Jr. (1754–1792)
26. Andrew Dodge (1762–1784)
27. Bartholomew Dodge (1712–1793)
28. Benjamin Dodge (ca.1727–1810)
29. Billy Dodge (1765–1817)
30. Israel Dodge Jr. (1759–1831)
31. Israel Andrews Dodge (1749–1823)
32. Jacob Dodge (1716–1792)
33. John Dodge (1717–1779)
34. Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811)
35. John Dodge Jr. (1747–1825)
36. John Dodge Jr. (1761–1834)
37. John Thorne Dodge (1764–1851)
38. Nicholas Dodge (1754–1835)

39. Capt. Richard Dodge Jr. (1738–1802)
40. Scipio Dodge a/k/a Scipio Lee (b? d?)
41. Simon Dodge (1750–1815)
42. Simon Dodge (1751–1838)
43. Skipper Dodge (1721–1785)
44. Stephen Dodge (1736–1816)
45. William Dodge (1758–1824)
46. George Dwinell (bp. 1730?)
47. Abraham Edwards (1755–1807)
48. Benjamin Edwards 3rd (1727–1795)
49. John Edwards (b. 1751)
50. Fortune Ellery (d. 1786)
51. Benjamin Fairfield (1762–1781)
52. John Fairfield (b. ca.1765)
53. Joseph Fairfield (1755–1808)
54. Capt. Matthew Fairfield (1745–1813)
55. Jonathan Fiske (1751–1825)
56. John Friend Jr. (1718–1785)
57. John Friend 3rd (1739–1793)
58. Nathaniel Friend (1764–1848)
59. Amos Gallop (1758–1834)
60. Isaac Giddings 3rd (1756–1843)
61. John Giddings (1748–1835)
62. Jonathan Goodhue Jr. (bp. 1759)
63. John Gott 3rd (bp. 1752–1775)
64. Nathaniel Gott (1755–1828)
65. Abner Haggett (1759–1844)
66. David Harris (b? d?)
67. Daniel Herrick (1749–1829)
68. Joshua Herrick (1751–1830)
69. Josiah Herrick Jr. (1733–1799)
70. Josiah Herrick 3rd (1762–1853)
71. John Hilliard (d. 1785)
72. Richard Hood (1751–1835)
73. Clayton Jones (b? d?)
74. Daniel Kilham 4th (1703–1787)
75. Daniel Kilham 5th (1727–1789)
76. John Kilham (1755–1820)
77. Jonathan Kilham (1747–1782)
78. Asa Kimball (bp. 1745–after 1802)
79. Caleb Kimball (1731–1799)
80. Cue Kimball (1765–1831)
81. Ebenezer Kimball (1740–1821)
82. Edmund Kimball (1762–1847)
83. Ephraim Kimball (1729–1779)
84. Ezra Kimball (b. 1749)
85. James Kimball Jr. (1733–1807)
86. Samuel Kimball (b. 1744)
87. Capt. Thomas Kimball (1730–1805)
88. Thomas Kimball Jr. (1756–1810)
89. Abraham Knowlton (1756–1829)
90. Amos Knowlton (1746–1778)
91. Caleb Knowlton (1753–17-77)
92. probably John Knowlton (b. 1766)
93. probably Joseph Knowlton Jr. (bp. 1768)
94. unidentified son of Joseph Knowlton (b? d?)
95. Thomas Knowlton (1760–1827)
96. Aaron Lee Jr. (1752–1823)
97. Amos Lefavour (1745–1795)
98. Jonathan Low Jr. (bp. 1748–after 1796)
99. Jonathan Martin (b. ca.1766)
100. Nathaniel Martin (bp. 1761–1827)
101. William McDaniels (b. ca.1741)

102. Nathaniel McIntire (b. ca.1762)
103. Eli Meservy Jr. (b. 1757)
104. John Moulton (1762–1824)
105. Jonathan Moulton (1737–1801)
106. Josiah Moulton (1739-1776)
107. Josiah Ober (1719–1797)
108. Josiah Ober Jr. (1747–1820)
109. Nathaniel Ober (1743–1778)
110. Samuel Ober (1753–1833)
111. Joshua Orne (d. 1784)
112. Caleb Parker (b? d?)
113. Isaac Patch (b. 1736)
114. Reuben Patch (bp. 1758–1827)
115. John Perkins (1717–1793)
116. John Perkins Jr. (1753–1847)
117. Thomas Perkins (bp. 1757)
118. James Platts (b. ca.1756)
119. Abner Poland (bp. 1760)
120. Daniel Poland Jr. (bp. 1752)
121. James Poland (d. by 1784)
122. Nathaniel Poland (d. by 1778)
123. Asa Porter (1741–1805)
124. Maj. Billy Porter (1739–1813)
125. Ebenezer Porter Jr. (b. 1745–before 1799)
126. Francis Porter (1748–1815)
127. Isaac Porter (1750–1837)
128. Nathaniel Porter (bp. 1753–1817)
129. Nathaniel Porter (b. 1762)
130. Scipio Porter a/k/a Scipio Lummus a/k/a Scipio Freeman (b. 1742? d. after 1808)
131. Dr. Tyler Porter (1735–1811)
132. Samuel Quarles (bp. 1742–1787)
133. Samuel Raymond (1743–1812)
134. Daniel Rogers (b. 1749–by 1782)
135. Dr. Isaac Spafford (1752–1786)
136. Josiah Swett (1741–1808)
137. Samuel Tarbox (1715–1784)
138. Moses Titcomb (bp. 1746–1830)
139. Benjamin Varnum (b. 1748)
140. Edward Waldren 3rd (b. 1750–after 1822)
141. Joseph Webber (b. 1754)
142. Samuel Webber (b. 1754–after 1807)
143. Thomas Webber (1746–1799)
144. William Webber (1749–1833)
145. Capt. Haffield White (1739–1818)
146. Haffield White Jr. (1764–1793)
147. Abraham Wyatt Jr. (b? d?)
148. Simon Wyatt (ca.1749–1822)

Uncertain Town of Residence

1. Daniel Andrews (bp. 1754–after 1805)
2. Moses Bailey (b? d?)
3. Joseph Boardman (bp. 1752–1841)
4. John Brown, private (b? d?)
5. John Brown, trumpeter (b? d?)
6. Joseph Brown (b. ca.1752)
7. Thomas Cheney (b? d?)
8. Robert Choate (b? d?)
9. Jeremiah Cole (b? d?)
10. Joseph Cole (b? d?)
11. Jonathan Cummings (bp. 1755–1846)

12. Abner Day (b? d?)
13. Abraham Dodge (b. ca.1760)
14. Ammi Dodge (1751–1826)
15. Andrew Dodge (b. 1740)
16. Thomas Dodge (b? d?)
17. John Eames (b? d?)
18. James Edwards (b? d. 1786)
19. Moses Fisher (b? d?)
20. James Fuller (1758–1842)
21. Seth Goodhue (bp. 1754–1836)
22. John Harris (b? d?)
23. Cabinah Haskell (b? d. 1777?)
24. Moses Hibbert (b. 1760 d?)
25. Richard Hill (b? d?)
26. Josiah Howard (1758–1833)
27. Jacob Jones (bp. 1759?)
28. William Kimball (b. 1742)
29. Michael Kinsman (bp.1746–1795)
30. Benjamin Lamson (b? d?)
31. James Perkins (b. ca.1754)
32. John Pitman (b? d?)
33. John Poland (bp. 1758)
34. Samuel Poland (bp. 1765)
35. William Poland (bp. 1763)
36. Zebulon Poland (bp. 1756)
37. Benjamin Jones Porter (1763–1847)
38. Thomas Potter (b? d?)
39. Ezekiel Pulcifer (b. 1757)
40. Nathaniel Raymond Jr. (1749–1802)
41. Daniel Reddington Jr. (1763–1834)
42. John Shepherd (b? d?)
43. Thomas Shepherd (b? d?)
44. Aaron Smith (b? d?)
45. Joshua Smith (b? d?)
46. Nathaniel Smith (b? d?)
47. Isaac Tufts (b? d?)
48. Benjamin Warner (bp. 1756–1843)
49. Benjamin Whipple (b. 1756?)

RESIDENTS OF OTHER TOWNS

1. Josiah Allen (b? d?)
2. Joseph Annable (bp. 1746)
3. John Anthony (b. ca.1752)
4. Benjamin Brown (b? d?)
5. Nehemiah Brown (bp. 1745–1812)
6. John Chapman (bp. 1742)
7. John Cummings (b. 1755)
8. Phillip Davis (b? d?)
9. Jacob Edwards (1746–1823)
10. James Eveleth 3rd (ca.1752–1834)
11. Benjamin Grant (b? d?)
12. Mark Haskell 3rd (bp. 1743–1825)
13. Benjamin Heard (bp. 1753)
14. Nehemiah Jewett (bp. 1737–1815)
15. Ezra Knowlton (bp. 1739–1814)
16. Andrew Newhall (b. 1758?)
17. Joseph Newhall Jr. (b. 1766?)
18. George Norton (1739–1803)
19. Nehemiah Patch (bp. 1741–1830)
20. Joseph Roberts (bp. 1732–1814)
21. John Vaughan (1763–1860)
22. Asa Warner (bp. 1750–1816)
23. John Whipple 4th (1743–1832)
24. Samuel White (b. 1751)
25. Thomas White Jr. (bp. 1756)

APPENDIX B:
SITES OF WENHAM-RESIDENT SERVICEMEN'S HOUSES

LEGEND[62]

- ● Existing house
- ○ Former site, high conviction
  House or cellar hole appears on a nineteenth- or early twentieth-century map and/or in a photograph
- □ Former site, medium conviction
  Deeds and/or probate records identify the lot on which the house stood but don't provide enough detail to pinpoint the site of the house on the given lot
- ◇ Former site unknown
  Deeds and/or probate records provide only an approximate location of the lot or farm on which the house stood

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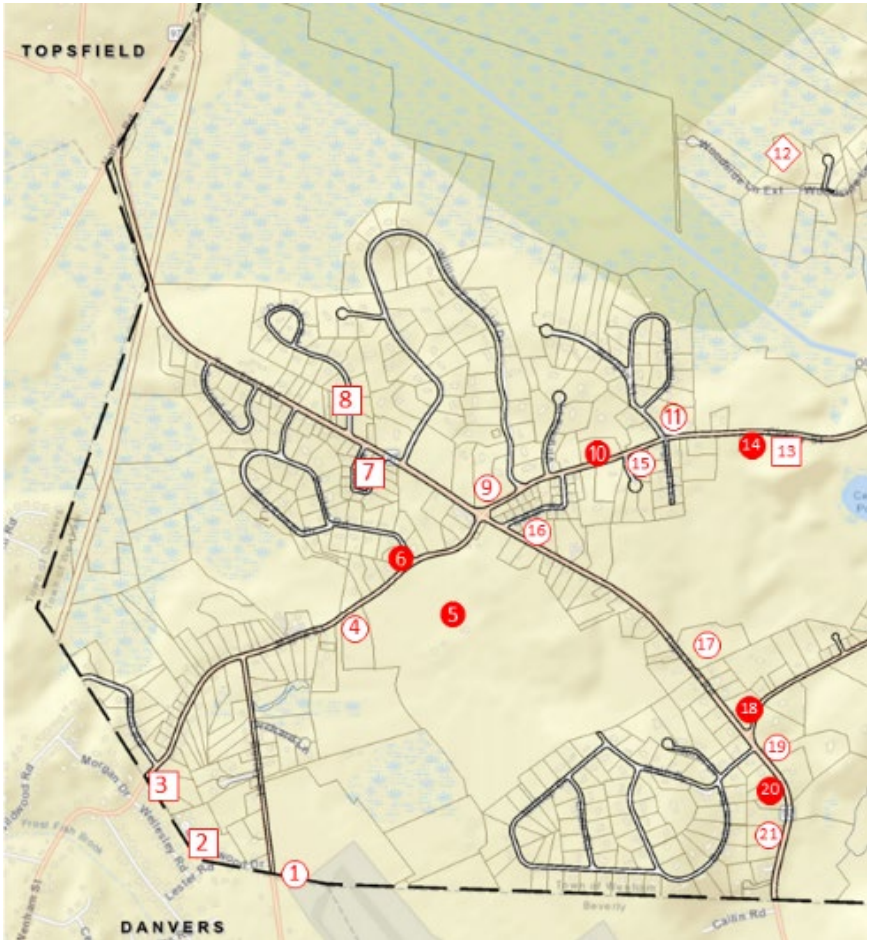
62 Wenham property maps by CAI AxisGIS via Wenhamma.gov. For identification of house sites see Corcoran (2025). House sites for some Wenham-residents servicemen have yet to be determined.


TOPSFIELD
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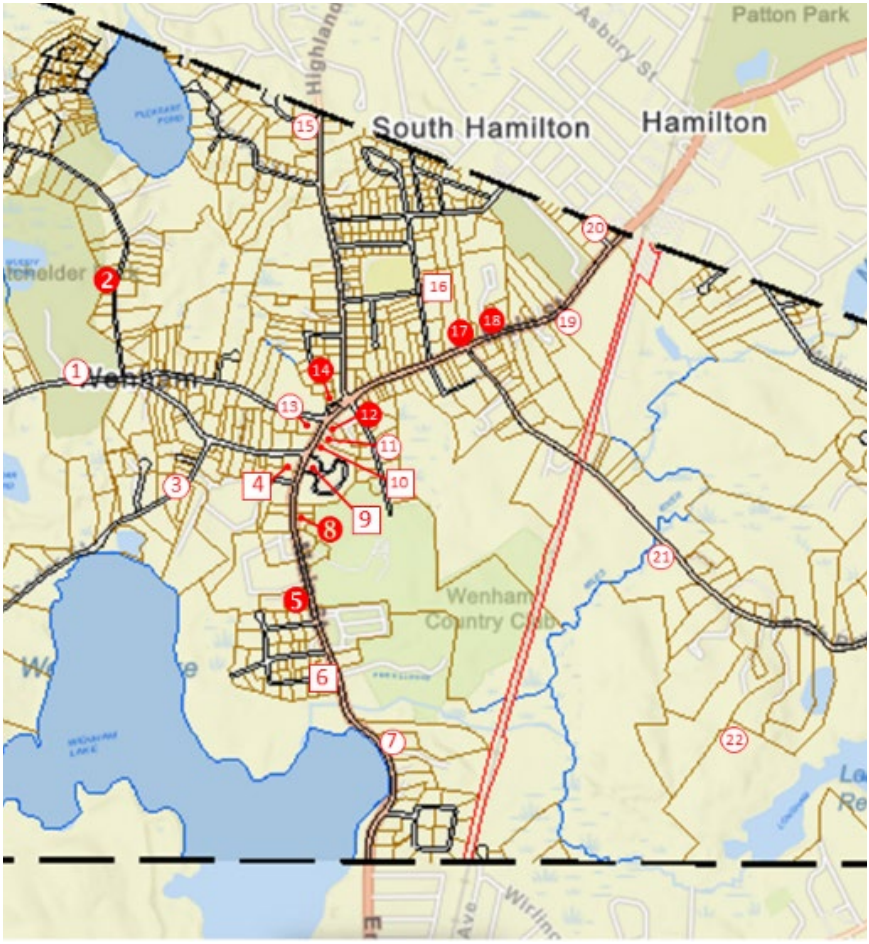
	Houses & House Sites	Resident Servicemen
1	**Joseph Herrick Jr. House** *Burley Street at Danvers town line*	Isaac Giddings 3rd
2	**John Herrick House** *near 4-12 Middlewood Drive*	Josiah Herrick Jr. probably Josiah Herrick 3rd
3	**Joseph Hacker House** *near 115-117 Maple Street*	Lieut. Cornelius Baker
4	**Charles Gott Jr. House** *47 Maple Street*	Moses Titcomb probably Asa Porter
5	**Porter-Crowninshield House** *9 Maple Street*	Benjamin Varnum
6	**Thomas Kilham House** *26 Maple Street*	Capt. Matthew Fairfield probably David Harris
7	**Fiske-Gott House** *near Meridian Road*	John Gott 3rd Nathaniel Gott Francis Porter
8	**Thomas Fiske Jr. House** *near 3-6 Daniels Road*	Richard Hood Samuel Raymond Samuel Tarbox
9	**William Fairfield House** *4 William Fairfield Drive*	Joseph Fairfield
10	**Newman-Fiske-Dodge House** *162 Cherry Street*	Jonathan Fiske
11	**Fiske-Ober House** *140 Cherry Street*	Josiah Ober Samuel Ober
12	**Asa Kimball House** *near Woodside Lane*	Asa Kimball Thomas Webber

	Houses & House Sites	Resident Servicemen
13	**James Moulton Sr. House** *east of 123 Cherry Street*	John Moulton Jonathan Moulton Josiah Moulton
14	**James Moulton Jr. House** *123 Cherry Street*	probably Joseph Webber probably Samuel Webber
15	**Theophilus Rix House** *near 155 Cherry Street*	William Webber possibly Joseph Webber possibly Samuel Webber
16	**Bartholomew Dodge House** *128 Topsfield Road*	Bartholomew Dodge Israel Andrews Dodge probably Moses Brown
17	**First James Friend House** *near 78 Topsfield Road*	John Friend 3rd probably Nathaniel Friend probably Jonathan Goodhue Jr.
18	**Second James Friend House** *114 Cedar Street*	John Friend Jr.
19	**Caleb Kimball House** *northwest of 36 Topsfield Road*	Caleb Kimball probably Cue Kimball
20	**Dea. Ephraim Kimball House** *31 Topsfield Road*	Ephraim Kimball
21	**James Kimball Jr. House** near *17 Topsfield Road*	James Kimball Jr.


Patton Park
South Hamilton
Hamilton
Asbury St
Highland
Wenham
Country Club
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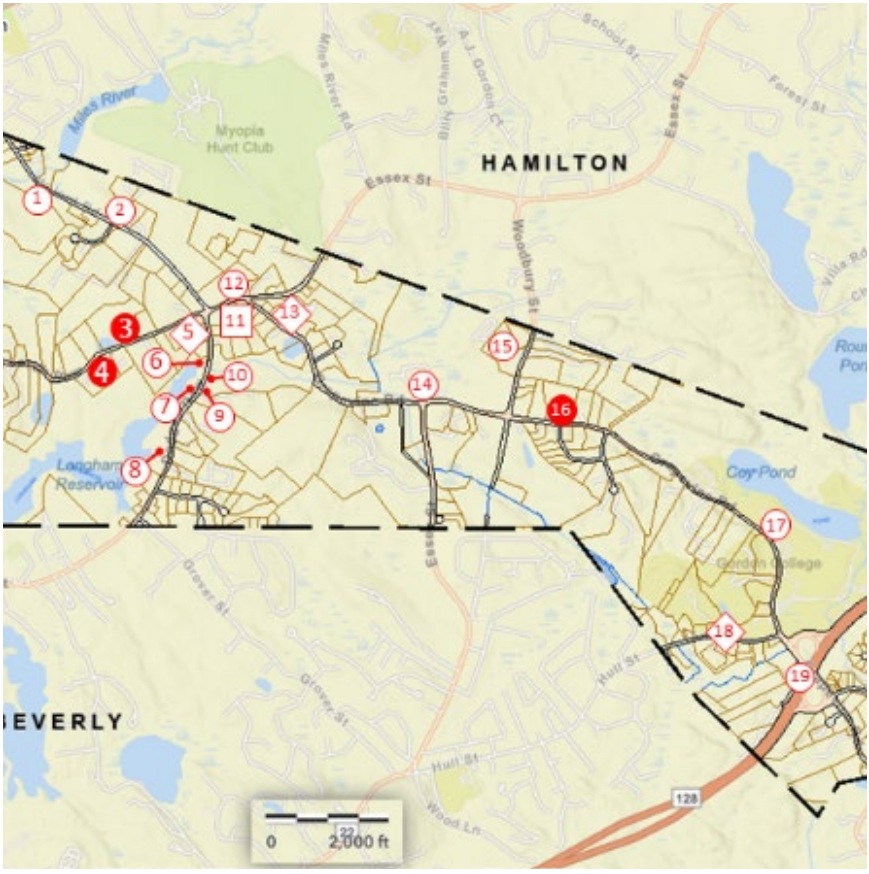
	Houses & House Sites	Resident Servicemen
1	**Edmund Kimball (1699–1768) House** *72 Cherry Street*	probably Edmund Kimball Capt. Thomas Kimball Thomas Kimball Jr.
2	**Samuel Kimball Jr. House** *29 Pleasant Street*	Ebenezer Batchelder 3rd John Batchelder possibly Samuel Kimball possibly Josiah Ober Jr.
3	**David Batchelder House** *18 Cedar Street*	Amos Batchelder Amos Batchelder Jr. Israel Batchelder
4	**William Rogers House** *near 1 Cherry Street or 4 Fairview Avenue*	Daniel Rogers
5	**Porter-Fairfield House** *79 Main Street*	probably Benjamin Fairfield
6	**Samuel Porter Jr. House** *near Main Street at Fiske Road*	probably Jonathan Low Jr. possibly Ebenezer Porter Jr. Isaac Porter possibly Nathaniel Porter (bp. 1753–1817) probably Nathaniel Porter (b. 1762)
7	**Capt. John Dodge (1636–1723) House** *near 26-34 Main Street*	John Dodge (1717–1779) John Dodge Jr. (1747–1825)
8	**John Solart House** *106 Main Street*	possibly Ebenezer Porter Jr. possibly Nathaniel Porter (bp. 1753–1817)
9	**Kilham-Friend-Ober House** *Main Street near Old Country Road*	Nathaniel Ober
10	**Porter-White-Batchelder House** *southwest of 130 Main Street*	Joseph Batchelder Josiah Batchelder Jr.
11	**Goodridge-Kimball House** *130 Main Street*	probably Ebenezer Kimball

	Houses & House Sites	Resident Servicemen
12	**Claflin-Richards House** *132 Main Street*	Daniel Herrick
13	**Kemp-Newman-Porter House** *near 1 Monument Street*	Scipio Porter Dr. Tyler Porter
14	**Henry Hobbs House** *135 Main Street*	Sampson Brown
15	**Srgt. John Perkins House** *75 Arbor Street*	John Perkins John Perkins Jr. Thomas Perkins
16	**William Davison House** *probably east of Perkins Street*	possibly Samuel Brown possibly Amos Gallop
17	**Pelatiah Brown House** *175 Main Street*	Pelatiah Brown
18	**Richard Hutton House** *185 Main Street*	Daniel Kilham 4th Daniel Kilham 5th John Kilham Jonathan Kilham
19	**First John Kilham House** *214 Main Street*	Andrew Cole John Hilliard
20	**Thomas Brown Jr. House** *near 4 Linden Street*	Abraham Brown James Brown Samuel Brown Thomas Brown Jr.
21	**Waldren-Brown House** *west of 80 Larch Row*	Edward Waldren 3rd
22 -	**Henry Haggett House** *southwest of 118 Larch Row*	Abner Haggett


HAMILTON
Myopia Hunt Club
Miles River
Essex St
Woodbury St
School St
Forest St
Grover St
Hull St
Wood Ln
Cox Pond
Gordon College
128
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	Houses & House Sites	Resident Servicemen
1	**White-Dodge-Pingree House** *west of 60 Walnut Road*	Abel Dodge Capt. Haffield White probably Haffield White Jr.
2	**Timothy Patch House** *57 Walnut Road*	Samuel Quarles
3	**Phineas Dodge House** *173 Larch Row*	Amos Dodge Jr. Stephen Dodge
4	**Josiah Dodge Jr. House** *156 Larch Row*	Jacob Dodge William Dodge probably Aaron Lee Jr. probably Eli Meservy Jr.
5	**Skipper Dodge House** *southwest of intersection of Larch Row and Dodges Row*	Skipper Dodge Josiah Swett
6	**Amos Dodge House** *south of 14 Dodges Row*	Joshua Orne
7	**Benjamin Dodge House** *opposite 45 Dodges Row*	Benjamin Dodge probably James Poland
8	**John Edwards House** *opposite 61 Dodges Row*	Abraham Edwards Benjamin Edwards 3rd probably John Edwards
9	**Second John Kilham House** *north of 45 Dodges Row*	Andrew Allen
10	**Israel Dodge House** *north of 45 Dodges Row*	Israel Dodge Jr.

	Houses & House Sites	Resident Servicemen
11	**Daniel Claflin House** near *204-210 Larch Row*	probably Nicholas Dodge
12	**Jonathan Hobbs House** *near 211 Larch Row*	Simon Dodge (1750–1815)
13	**James Dodge House** *approximate area of 9-25 Grapevine Road*	Simon Dodge (1751–1838)
14	**Richard Dodge Jr. (ca.1643–1705) House** *Grapevine Road at Essex Street*	Billy Dodge Capt. John Dodge (1740–1811) John Dodge Jr. (1761–1834)
15	**Lieut. William Dodge House** *25 Rubbly Road*	John Thorne Dodge Capt. Richard Dodge Jr. Scipio Dodge
16	**Churchill Knowlton House** *143 Grapevine Road*	Amos Knowlton John Knowlton Joseph Knowlton Jr. Thomas Knowlton unidentified Knowlton possibly Abraham Wyatt Jr.
17	**John Coy House** *near main entrance to Gordon College*	William Cleaves Jr. Caleb Coy Jr.
18	**Simon Wyatt House** *near 16 Hull Street*	Simon Wyatt
19	**Abraham Knowlton House** *southwest of intersection of Grapevine Road at Route 128*	Abraham Knowlton

APPENDIX C:
1774 NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT
REGARDING NATHANIEL BROWN JR.[63]

Hobbs House resident Harriet B. Hobbs (1864–1944) wrote in 1935[64] that enslaver Nathaniel Brown Jr. (ca.1705–1778) was almost tarred and feathered during an incident near the start of the Revolution. The newspaper article below alludes to that incident (although there's no specific mention of an attempt at tarring-and-feathering) and describes a follow-up encounter. The text of the article is remarkably one-sided, and even misleading. Consider, for example, the use of the word "Elopement" in the second paragraph—a euphemism for "escape" that was rendered in italics to convey sarcasm. Consider also that the article sets the scene at the "house" of Dr. Tyler Porter, without mentioning that Porter was an innkeeper. If one reads between the lines, one can imagine a bunch of men getting drunk at the inn and deciding to go across the street to confront Brown. In that vein, consider reading this article while substituting the word "mob" wherever the word "committee" appears, substituting "liquor" for "a treat" at the end of the article, and substituting "with a good buzz" for "in good humour" at the end of the article.

At a Meeting of twenty-one Persons (delegated by a large Body who convened at Wenham on Tuesday last) at the House of Dr. Tyler Porter in Wenham, on this 4th Day of October, 1774, to enquire into the Conduct of Nathaniel Brown, Esq; of that Town, he appeared, and after some Altercation, the following Articles of Charge were lexhibited [*sic*] to him; on which, at his Request, he was indolged [*sic*] one Hour's Time for Consideration: On his Return the following Charges were laid before him, viz.

TO NATHANAIL [*sic*] BROWN, Esq;

It is a Point given up, that from the general Tenor of your Conduct and Conversation, you are justly deserving the reproachful Character of a *Tory*; and as such, merit the highest Disgrace and Contempt so long as you cleave to and persist in Principles evidently tending to Slavery. From a strong Desire that the very being of an Opinion, so sordid and contemptible, may be totally eradicated from your Mind, a considerable Number from the adjacent Towns convened at Wenham on Tuesday last, for such a noble Design: but your *Elopement* prevented an Interview; upon which a Committee was chosen by that Body to wait on you this Day; and they being met, have taken under Consideration the many and dirty Reflections on the true Sons of Liberty, some of which, black as they are, we shall for once (though with great Reluctance) mention to you; and if you are not callous to all the Feelings of Humanity, and totally devoid of any Spark of Love to the Liberties of your Country, we expect voluntary Retraction, and such a Confession as will intitle [*sic*] you to the Forgiveness of your injured Fellow Countrymen. And that you may not be ignorant of the many Injuries received from you, we lay before you some of the many Charges they have against you.

1. At the Town-Meeting at Wenham, in May, 1773, you asserted, that our Charter-Rights were not infringed in the least by any of the late Acts of Parliament; and that the Town of Boston had plunged themselves into Difficulty by their Committee of Correspondence; and the other Towns who had adopted their Measures were sorry for it; and being queried with, "What Towns?" you said Topsfield had rejected it; which is *false*.

2. Your strenuous Opposition to raising Money for supporting the Expence [*sic*] of the General Congress, by reading the Governor's Proclamation at the Meeting, to dissuade the People from proceeding, it being (as you said) your Duty so to do as a Magistrate.

3. Your declaring that all the present Evils we now suffer were owing to the Town of Boston, and that you should be glad it was laid in Ashes.

4. Your declaring that Ministers and News-Papers were a publick [*sic*] Nuisance; and that a certain Minister preferred a Petition, requesting that of his Maker, which he never heard of, nor never would, had he not mentioned it, it being only this, that our Charter-Rights might be restored.

5. That the late Acts of Parliament were not in the least cruel or oppressive; and that if the People were not stupidly ignorant they would tamely submit thereto; and added, the Soldiers are arrived, you are intimidated, and Britain will gain the Day.

6. You asserted, that if Duties were laid upon any Articles imported into North-America from Great-Britain, fully equal to the Thing itself, it would be but right and just.

7. Your positive and bold Declaration, that wherever a Number of Whigs were convened, there was a Parcel of *Mobbish Fellows*.

8. That you forbid Capt. Jacob Dodge examining into the State of his Company, with Respect to their Arms & Ammunition.

9. Your saying, that the Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq; John Adams, Esq; and Mr. Samuel Adams, were the Instigators of the whole of our Difficulties, who, with other Gentlemen, Members of the Continental Congress, merit Halters rather than a Reward.

These, Sir, are a few, among many Charges, the Publick [*sic*] have against you, and the Committee aforesaid expect you make a Confession of your Imprudencies, ask Forgiveness of the Publick [*sic*], and publish the same to the World.

Wenham, October 4, 1774.

The Confession follows:

WHEREAS I the Subscriber have in many Instances offended my Fellow Countrymen, and justly merited their Displeasure in repeated Instances, as set forth in the Charges exhibited against me, more particularly by a Committee chosen by a respectable Body of Freeholders and others of this and the adjacent Towns, being regularly convened on the 27th Day of September last, to enquire into my Conduct; And whereas the said Committee exhibited divers Matters of Charges against me, all which I acknowledge, and am heartily sorry for, and humbly ask Forgiveness of the said Committee that appeared in Behalf of the before-mentioned Body, and all other Persons, the true Sons of Liberty, whom I have offended. I do promise for myself, that I utterly abhor and detest the late Acts of Parliament, as they do infringe on our Charter, and do promise for the future that I never will take any Commission under the new Administration of Government, nor act [on] any Thing in Conformity thereto, and that I consent [that] the said Articles of Charge, together with this my Confession, shall be made publick [*sic*]*, by being inserted in the publick* [*sic*] *Prints [newspapers]; and hope thereby to be restored to the Favour* [*sic*] *and Friendship of my Fellow-Countrymen, & that my future Conduct may merit their Approbation.*

Wenham, Oct. 4, 1774. NATHANAEL [sic] BROWN.

After he had read the same, the Body voted it to be satisfactory to them; then he gave them a Treat, humbly thanked them for their kind, generous and gentleman-like Deportment to him, and then withdrew. ——After many loyal Toasts were drank, the Committee dispersed in good Humour [*sic*], every Thing being conducted with the greatest Regularity, and to the Satisfaction of the numerous Spectators.

A true Copy,

Attest, JOHN FRIEND, Clerk.

63 *The Essex Gazette*, October 11, 1774, 3.

64 Cole (1943), 68. Wenham Historical Association & Museum (1992), 42.

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